

The Review of English Studies

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Editors: PETER ALEXANDER, NORMAN DAVIS

CONTENTS

<i>Beowulf</i> and Old English Verse Rhythm. By Josef Taglicht .	341
The Significance of Elyot's Revision of the <i>Gouernour</i> . By Elisabeth Holmes	352
Milton's First Sonnet on his Blindness. By Ann Gossman and George W. Whiting, with a reply by Fitzroy Pyle .	364
The Two Blakes. By E. D. Hirsch, Jr.	373
The Influence of Hobhouse on <i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i> , Canto IV. By Andrew Rutherford	391

NOTES

A New Pope Letter (Elizabeth Arlidge)	398
Christopher Smart's First Publication in English (Roger Lonsdale)	402
A Letter of Sir Walter Scott to William Scott on the Jeffrey-Swift Controversy (W. U. McDonald, Jr.)	404

(Continued at foot of next page)

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CONTENTS (continued)

REVIEWS, ETC.

Doctrine and Poetry. Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry, by Bernard F. Huppé, 409; English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, by N. R. Ker, 412; The Parlement of Foulys, edited by D. S. Brewer, 413; The Quest for the Holy Grail, by F. W. Locke, 415; Short Time's Endless Monument. The Symbolism of the Numbers in Edmund Spenser's *Epithalamion*, by A. Kent Hieatt, 417; The Queen and the Poet, by Walter Oakeshott, 419; Shakespeare's Comedies, by Bertrand Evans, 423; Angel with Horns, by A. P. Rossiter, 425; *The Gazetteer, 1735-1797*, by Robert L. Haig, 426; Johnson before Boswell. A Study of Sir John Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson*, by Bertram H. Davis, 428; Byron, Shelley, Hunt and *The Liberal*, by William H. Marshall, 429; Wordsworth and Schelling. A Typological Study of Romanticism, by E. D. Hirsch, Jr., 430; A Victorian Publisher. A Study of the Bentley Papers, by Royal A. Gettman, 432; The Letters of Emily Dickinson, edited by Thomas H. Johnson, assisted by Theodora Ward, 434; The Making of *The Return of the Native*, by John Paterson, 436; The Whole Mystery of Art. Pattern into Poetry in the Work of W. B. Yeats, by Giorgio Melchiori, 437; The Modern Poets. A Critical Introduction, by M. L. Rosenthal, 439; Short Notices, 441; Summary of Periodical Literature, 445; Index, 449.

7

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BEOWULF AND OLD ENGLISH VERSE RHYTHM

By JOSEF TAGLICHT

A GREAT deal of work has been done on the prosodic analysis of Old English alliterative verse, and certain rules have been shown to be more or less strictly observed in its composition; but on the rhythmical interpretation of the lines there is hardly any general agreement. Thus Sievers maintains that each verse (or half-line) contains two strong stresses which may be variously spaced in time. The lengths of the time-intervals between successive stresses form no precise pattern, and their proportions accordingly do not constitute part of the metrical structure. According to Heusler, on the other hand, the essential framework of *all* metre is the regular spacing of stresses in time. For him Old English verse contains a continuous succession of stresses separated by equal intervals of time. This continuity may occasionally be interrupted by an 'extrametrical anacrusis', after which the regular succession of stresses is resumed. The theories of Professors Pope¹ and Bliss² follow those of Heusler and Sievers respectively; but Pope contrives to eliminate Heusler's 'extrametrical anacrusis' by postulating rests in place of stresses at the beginning of some half-lines (a device that was already used by Kaluza many years earlier),³ while Bliss stresses the metrical significance of the natural phrasing and proposes reading some half-lines with one strong stress instead of two. It is the object of this paper to point out the fundamental prosodic facts that have been established by analysis of the verse, to consider some of the rhythmical interpretations in the light of these facts, and to explore what conclusions may be reached by building on the facts alone, without the assistance of preconceived theoretical notions on the nature of Germanic verse rhythm or verse rhythm in general.

¹ J. C. Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1942).

² A. J. Bliss, *The Metre of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1958).

³ M. Kaluza, *Der altenglische Vers* (Berlin, 1894). The following specimen of scansion is taken from part i, pp. 94-95. The bars denote measures (Takte).

- a- lédon pā — léofne pēden	B A
deāga brýttan - on dearm scipes,	A C
mærne be mæste, - pær was mādma féla	A B
of féor-wegum frætwa ge- liðed.	C A

Studies of Old English versification have traditionally started with a consideration of the metre of *Beowulf*, since it is the largest piece of prosodically consistent verse extant in Old English. The present paper deals only with the metre of *Beowulf*. Hence the so-called hypermetric verses (*Schnoellverse*) are not examined here, for they constitute a special problem which can only be dealt with satisfactorily within the framework of a more comprehensive study of Old English versification.

'Musical' and 'non-musical' rhythms

The fundamental question at issue between the rival schools of thought has frequently been said to be whether Old English verse had a 'musical' or 'non-musical' rhythm. It has been assumed by many of the contestants on either side that all musical rhythm must be based on the regular recurrence of a strong beat at equal intervals of time. From this requirement exemption has been claimed (by Sievers and others) or refused (notably by Heusler) for the rhythm of spoken verse. It has, therefore, often been thought important for the establishment of the correct rhythmical interpretation to determine whether Old English verse was sung or spoken.¹ The arguments for or against 'musical' scansion lose much of their point when it is remembered that there exist all sorts of musical rhythms very different from the isochrony which has dominated European music for so long a time. Gregorian chant is a well-known example of music without isochronic rhythm, and others are to be found in Eastern Europe, Africa, and other parts of the world. It might, of course, be argued that all these types of music are non-Germanic and so irrelevant to the present discussion, but such an objection can hardly be raised against the folk-songs in irregular rhythm which have been collected from various parts of England. Especially striking are certain songs from Lincolnshire collected by Dr. Percy Grainger and published in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*. Here, for instance, is the rhythm of the beginning of *Lord Melbourne*, as sung by an old countryman at Brigg, Lincolnshire, in the year 1906, and noted from a phonograph recording by Dr. Grainger:²

¹ Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik* (Halle, 1893), §§ 5, 6, and 158 ff. Here Sievers justifies his unequal spacing of the strong stresses by maintaining that Germanic alliterative verse in the form in which we know it was intended for spoken recitation. Kaluza, *A Short History of English Versification* (tr. A. C. Dunstan, London, 1911), p. 44: 'In my *Studien zum germanischen Alliterationsvers* I §§ 5-8 I have already shown that Old English verse can have been no spoken verse (*Sprechvers*) in the modern sense of the word.' Pope, pp. 88 f., is at pains to show that Old English verse was sung to a harp accompaniment. His object is to strengthen his case for equal measures and rest-beats.

² *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, iii, no. 12 (1908), 200.

I am an Eng-lish-man born by birth, Lord
 Mel-bourne is my name. In De-von-she-er I
 first drew be-reath, that place of no-ble
 fame. I was be-loved by
 a-del my men. By kings and pri-den-cis like-
 (all) (princes)
 wise; I ne-ver fa-deld in a-ny-thing
 (failed)
 But one great vic-to-ry.

With regard to the rhythm of such songs as the above, the following remarks, which are taken from Grainger's introduction,¹ are of considerable importance:

Uniform Recurrence of Irregularities

It is astonishing how triflingly a good singer's song will differ in, say, four different phonograph records of it. It is my experience that, in the case of singers with alert memories, very little of even the minutest details is random, but that the smallest rhythmic irregularities are repeated with no less uniformity than are regular rhythms.

Mr. George Wray [who recorded *The Duke of Melbourne*], a very rhythmically irregular singer, is surprisingly uniform—so much so that when listening to his own records being reproduced in the machine (which he delights to do) he will most often join in too, and find no difficulty in keeping well together with the record, as regards rhythms, twiddles, added syllables, dynamics, etc.; the two forming a weirdly 'bubbly' duet. This frequent uniform repetition of irregularities goes, to my mind, to prove that very many of them are not mere careless

¹ Pp. 154-5.

or momentary deviations from a normal, regular form, but radical points of enrichment, inventiveness and individualization, evolved in accordance with personal characteristics, and hallowed and cemented by consistent usage.

From a consideration of the above it becomes clear, firstly, that the expression 'the rhythm of music', if the type of music is not specified, is so vague as to be meaningless, and secondly that irregularities which at the first hearing seem to testify to a lack of rhythmic sense may on closer examination turn out to be the product of an unaccustomed degree of rhythmic sensitivity and sophistication. About the rhythmical structure of Anglo-Saxon music nothing is known. Indeed, in the whole of medieval Europe 'secular music was never written down before the tenth century; and in five more centuries it was, when written down, notated without indication of rhythm'.¹ Hence even absolute certainty that *Beowulf* was intended to be sung and accompanied on the harp would not help us in our endeavour to find the correct rhythmical interpretation, and it is a very poor argument to say, as does Pope in his criticism of Sievers, that his scansion 'has given countenance to the notion that the Germanic people had a queer sense of rhythm'.² No doubt Grainger's notations give countenance to very similar notions about some of the people of Lincolnshire; yet they are based on the unimpeachable evidence of gramophone recordings.

It is clear, then, that in our search for a satisfactory scansion of Old English verse we must beware of relying on deductions from alleged general principles of rhythm which are in reality mere generalizations from our own habits and predilections. Our questions can be answered (in so far as they can be answered at all) only by the texts themselves. The help given by the punctuation of the manuscripts is limited. Though in some texts, notably those contained in the Junius manuscript (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Christ and Satan*), the division into half-lines is consistently marked, we nowhere find signs regularly indicating the strong stresses or otherwise marking the metrical subdivision of the half-line. We must accordingly rely largely on linguistic considerations taken together with the evidence of the alliteration and metre.

The basic facts

The researches of Sievers, Fuhr, Kaluza, Heusler, Pope, and Bliss have established a number of basic facts, which must be taken into account in any rhythmic interpretation of Old English alliterative verse. They may be formulated as follows:

1. The first strongly stressed word of a verse always alliterates; the second need not do so.³

¹ Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (London, 1953), p. 148.

² Pope, p. 12.

³ Cf. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte* (Berlin, 1925), i, §§ 135, 138; Sievers, *Metrik*, §§ 22-23.

2. Not more than two words may alliterate in any a-verse, and not more than one in any b-verse; but the occurrence of the alliterating sound on an unstressed word is ignored.

3. Long and short syllables must be distinguished in scansion, when they bear either a strong stress or a half stress.¹ It is also possible to detect in the metre fossilized remnants of the prehistoric distinction between long and short unstressed syllables.²

4. The metrical value of an unstressed final syllable or an enclitic is distinct from that of an unstressed initial syllable or a proclitic.³

5. The metrical value of separable compounds is distinct from that of simple words on the one hand, and from that of sequences of two separate words on the other; fused compounds are treated like simple words.⁴

The rhythmical interpretation of the verse

The outlines of Sievers's system of scansion are well known, and his classification of the different types of half-line is widely used. However, his scansion is not, as it professes to be, purely descriptive and independent of his rhythmical theory.⁵

First, the division into feet (at any rate of types A, B, and E) is not based on objective considerations at all, but purely on the rhythmical rendering that Sievers favoured,⁶ in spite of the fact that this frequently destroys the natural phrasing, as in

13a geóng in | géardum
6b syððan æ|rest weáro
5b méodosætla of|téah

and many others.

Secondly, Sievers's 'lifts' and 'dips' are not phonetic entities, but abstract units of reckoning which are arbitrarily redefined where this is necessary in

¹ Sievers, 'Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses', *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, x (1885), 209-314, 451-545, *passim*.

² Kaluza (1894), part i, p. 51; Bliss, §§ 34-37, 40. The survival in the metre of a distinction no longer existing in contemporary speech is presumably due to the traditional nature of the material and the formulaic technique of versification. On the latter, cf. F. P. Magoun, Jr., 'Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry', *Speculum*, xxviii (1953), 446-63.

³ Sievers (1885), p. 227; Kaluza (1894), part ii, pp. 46, 50; Heusler, § 252; Bliss, §§ 43, 44, 46-48, 59, and appendix C, pp. 124-5.

⁴ Sievers (1893), § 78, 1-3; Fuhr, *Die Metrik des westgermanischen Alliterationsverses* (1892), pp. 17 ff.; Kaluza (1911), § 77; Bliss, §§ 32-33, 80.

⁵ Cf. *Metrik*, p. xi: 'Es widerstrebt mir, auf einem gebiete wo der widerstreit der theoretischen anschauungen noch so wenig geklärt ist, beobachtung und theorie miteinander zu verquicken. . . . Es kann dabei auch ein jeder der an den theoretischen ausführungen des siebenten abschnitts anstoss nimmt, sich doch aus den vorhergehenden teilen über die empirischen gesetze der versbildung orientieren.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 178.

order to reconcile the facts with the theory. Thus the sequence $\bar{\text{L}} \text{ } \bar{\text{U}} \text{ } \times$ constitutes sometimes two metrical units and sometimes three.

Thirdly, Sievers arbitrarily suppresses in his scansion all natural half-stresses which precede the alliterating word in B and C verses, e.g.

- 48b leton hól m bér an
78b scop him Héort náman
359b cupe he dúguðe péaw

In doing so, he fails to consider the following facts:

1. a-verses of identical structure to those quoted above often alliterate on the verb. This alliteration is far too frequent to be accidental.¹
2. b-verses of the same structure never have the alliterating sound on the verb.² If the verb were quite unstressed, there would be no reason for avoiding the alliterating sound, which may freely occur in b-verses in unstressed syllables, e.g.

- 29b swa he sélfa báed
52b hwa þæm hláste onféng
56b of þæt him éft onwóc

The exception which proves the rule is provided by *wæs*, which unlike full verbs can be completely unstressed, and may so share in the alliteration unperceived, like *swa*, *hwa*, *of*, &c., e.g.

- 133b wæs þæt ge wín to stráng
191b wæs þæt ge wín to swýð
734b ne wæs þæt wýrd þa gé n

In *The Metre of Beowulf* Bliss puts forward a metrical interpretation which resembles Sievers's in that it rejects the idea of an isochronic basis for the metre, and sets up metrical units ('lifts' and 'dips') which are defined in terms of stress relationships.

Here, however, the resemblance ends: whereas Sievers manipulates the definitions of his metrical units and makes various assumptions about the stressing of the verses in order to make all the main types divisible into four units, Bliss is ready to admit freely verses of three, four, or five units. Verses belonging to Sievers's type A3, like *þæt hine on ylde, hi hyne þa ætberon*, are read with one stress only, and consequently consist of only three units. Verses like *hu ða æþelingas* are reduced to the same pattern, since Bliss rejects Sievers's assumption of a secondary stress on the penultimate of *æþelingas* and the like.² Sequences of two unstressed syllables are

¹ Bliss, § 15. Unable to account for this alliteration, Bliss calls it 'non-functional' or 'ornamental'.

² Ibid., § 32.

counted as two 'dips', not one, if the two syllables belong to separate 'breath-groups', e.g.

he þæs frófre | gebád
fólce | to frófre
wórdare | forgéaf.

Hence Bliss counts five metrical units in these types.¹

We may sum up by saying that Bliss's scansion concentrates our attention on a number of rhythmical distinctions which are relevant to the metre and which Sievers tends to gloss over or to ignore; but that he achieves this only at the cost of obscuring the fundamental regularity of the structure behind a mass of detail.

The following points deserve special comment: first, Bliss maintains that none of the syllables preceding the alliteration can bear any stress at all. This means that the verb must be unstressed not only in verses like 48b *leton hólme bérán*, 376b *sohte hólðne wíne*, but also in 728a *geseah he in récede*, 2542a *geseah þa be wéalle*, and the like. But this is not all: for, working on the assumption that sentence stress is determined by somewhat inflexible syntactical rules,² Bliss generalizes from lines like 48b, 376b, 728a, and 2542a (admittedly a common type) and scans, e.g.

1501a *grap þa togeanes* x x x ¹ x
1506a *bær þa seo brimwylf* x x x ¹ ¹
1518a *ongeat þa se goda* x x x x ¹ x
1531a *wearp þa wundenmæl* x x ¹ x ¹
1537a *gefeng þa be [f]eaxe* x x x x ¹ x
2661a *wod þa þurh þone wælrec* x x x x x ¹ ¹
234a *gewat him þa to waroðe* x x x x x ¹ x
109a *ne gefeah he þære fæhðe* x x x x x ¹ x
1711a *ne geweax he him to willan* x x x x x x ¹ x

It is doubtful if the laws of sentence stress can in fact be assumed to work in so mechanical a fashion that the reader's judgement may abdicate all responsibility. It seems permissible to deny the likelihood of a strong stress on the verb in 1711a *ne geweax he him to willan* | (*ac to wælfæalle*) and yet to assert it most emphatically in 109a *ne gefeah he þære fæhðe* | (*ac He hine feor forwæc*). Nor need we be disconcerted by the fact that in some cases opinions on the best stressing will differ; for that happens even with modern English verse, where readers have the advantage of such familiarity with the poet's language as no student of *Beowulf* can

¹ Ibid., § 84.

² Bliss here follows, with some modifications, the rules formulated by Kuhn, *Beiträge*, lviii (1933), 1-109. It is unfortunate that Kuhn distinguishes between only two degrees of stress, treating secondary stress sometimes as weak and sometimes as strong. This oversimplification may invalidate some of his conclusions.

hope to acquire in this world. However, instances like 109a are exceptional; and, as pointed out above (p. 346), there are good reasons for supposing that a secondary stress on the verb was normal for verses of the type here discussed.

Kaluza,¹ Sievers in his later work,² Heusler, and Pope have all produced methods of scansion based on the division of the verses into bars or measures of equal duration; but none of these systems is free from serious weaknesses.

Kaluza uses both final and initial rests, but applies the latter even to types D and A2k (Sievers's classification), thus producing frequent clashes between the stressing suggested by alliteration and grammar, and that supposedly required by the metre, as in

| sēcgan to | sōðe | - sele- | rādende
| - māgo- | driht micel

with the strongest stress of the verse on *-rādende* and *-driht* respectively.³ Sievers's later scansion involves similar difficulties, e.g.

Hwæt ic þysne sōng sipgeōmor fānd.

Here *sipgeōmor* is to be given 'schwebende Betonung', i.e. *sip* is to be 'linked melodically' with *song*, but the lift is nevertheless to be given to *-geō-*.⁴

Heusler's system depends on some considerable distortion of natural syllabic length and the insertion or omission of pauses without reference to the sense, e.g.⁵

| Nu sculon | herigean - | heofonrices | weard, - -
2 11 11 11 11 11 11 2 2
| meotodes - | meahte and his | modge- | þanc, - -
1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 3 1 2 2
| weorc - - | wuldorfæder, swa he | wundra ge- | hwæs, - -
2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 2 2
| ece - | drihten - | or - on- | stealde. He
2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1
| ærest - | scop - - | eorþan - | bearnum -
2 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 2 1 1

Pope's system is based on a somewhat different use of pauses, but they

¹ In *Der altenglische Vers* (1894).

² E.g. 'Zu Cynnewulf', *Festsache Karl Luick* (Marburg, 1925), pp. 60-81.

³ Kaluza (1894), part i, p. 95; part ii, p. 81.

⁴ *Luick Festsache*, p. 63.

⁵ The example is taken from Heusler, § 186. I have used dashes to denote the pauses, and figures in place of Heusler's symbols for the time-values.

are still arbitrary. Distortion of the natural length of syllables also remains. The following line¹ is a characteristic example of the latter:

	-	-	þenden		wordum	weold		wine		Scyldinga			
	2	1	1		1	1	2		1	3	2	1	1

Here *wordum weold* is made equal in length to *wine*.

An even more serious objection to such systems is that they attribute identical rhythms to words which clearly have different metrical values. Thus

1. The sequence $\cup \cup \Delta$ (as in *magodriht*) may appear at the beginning of a verse; the sequence $\Delta \times \Delta$ (as in *famigheals*) may not. But Heusler and Pope give the same rhythm to both: $1+1+2$.

2. The sequence $\Delta \Delta \times$ (as in *guðbyrne*) may be followed by a monosyllable, but for $\Delta \cup \times$ (as in *goldhroden*) this is exceptional (five times in *Beowulf*), and for $\Delta \cup \cup$ (as in *guðsearo*) impossible. Yet Heusler and Pope give the same rhythm to both: $2+1+1$.

3. The pattern $\Delta \cup \cup$ (as in *guðsearo*) may be followed by $\Delta \times$, while $\Delta \cup \times$ (as in *goldhroden*) may not. $\Delta \cup \times$ may follow Δ , but $\Delta \cup \cup$ may not. Yet Heusler and Pope give the same rhythm to both; $2+1+1$.

Heusler himself² points out the difficulties involved in (1) and (2)—and then takes no further notice of them. Pope does not even mention the problem.

A new rhythmical interpretation

We have observed in *Beowulf* regular metrical discrimination between classes of words which are identical in numbers of syllables, stress patterns, and composition, and differ only in the natural length of one or more syllables, e.g. those which may be represented by the scansions $\Delta \cup \cup$ and $\Delta \Delta \times$; $\Delta \cup \cup$ and $\Delta \cup -$; $\cup \cup \Delta$ and $\Delta \times \Delta$.³ From this we may conclude (a) that the metre has a quantitative or chronometric framework, and (b) that in the treatment of syllabic length, as in other respects, the verse rhythm is based essentially on the rhythm of speech. The first conclusion must lead us to reject as inadequate any analysis of the metre which obscures the chronometric element in its structure, while the second will not allow us to accept any solution which attributes the same duration to phonemically long and short sounds under identical conditions of stress and phrasing.

If quantities and phrasing within the half-line are essentially in harmony with those of natural speech, it is highly improbable that the stresses are to

¹ Pope, p. 166.

² Heusler, § 231.

³ Note also the prosodic distinction between longer and shorter monosyllables, pointed out by Kaluza (1894), part ii, pp. 49-50.

be disposed at equal intervals of time. In other words, the measures of Old English alliterative verse are most unlikely to have been of uniform length.

In what follows the symbols I, Γ, II, and Π are used to indicate the length of the following measure. Every strong stress marks the beginning of a new measure. The first measure of a verse may begin with a secondary stress. The values of the symbols are: I = 1, Γ = 1½, II = 2, Π = 2½. The symbol × stands for a variable number of syllables, not headed by either a primary or a secondary stress.

The alliteration is marked by italics.

Here follow the renderings proposed for the principal types of half-line. (Asterisks mark those with anacrusis.)

1. II + II

- 1a 13a: II *geóng* in II *géardum*
 14a: II *fólce* to II *frófre*
 16a: II *lānge* II *hwífe*
 76a: II *fólcstede* II *frætwan*
 127a: II *Gréndles* II *gúðcræft*
 1b 720a: II *cóm þa* to II *récede*
 762a: II *mýnte* se II *mæra*
 1c 39a: II + II *hildewæpnum*
 *1a 2629a: *gellwac* æt II *wíge*
 *1b 301a: *gellwiton* him þa II *féran*
 217a: *gellwæt* þa ofer II *wæghòlm*

2. Γ + Π

- 2a 31a: Γ *léof* Π *lándfruma*
 223a: Γ *síde* Π *sénnessas*
 30b: Γ *wíne* Π *Scýldinga*
 897b: Γ *wýrm* Γ *hát* gel *méalt*
 2b 78b: Γ *scòp* him I *Héort* Γ *náman*
 198b: Γ *hèt* him Π *yðlidan*
 376b: Γ *sòhte* Γ *hóldne* I *wíne*
 358a: Γ *ðode* Π *ellenròf*
 2c 9b: Γ + Π *ymsittendra*
 *2a 1554a: geΓ *wéold* Π *wígsigor*
 *2b 2604b: geΓ *sèah* his Π *móndryhten*
 2756a: geΓ *sèah* þa Π *sígehrédig*

3. Π + Γ

- 3a 8b: Π *wéorðmýndum* Γ *þáh*
 33b: Π *æþelinges* Γ *fær*
 17b: Π *wéoroldare* forΓ *géaf*
 67a: Π *mágodriht* Γ *micel*

545a: I fif Γ nīhta Γ fýrst
 1278b: I sūnu Γ déoð Γ wrécan

3c 19b: Π+Γ Scédelāndum in

4. x+ll

53a: þa wæs on ll búrgum
 168a: no he þone ll gīfstōl
 22a: þæt hine on ll ylde
 28a: hi hyne þa ætllbæron

Note: These verses normally begin with at least three unstressed syllables. The average number of unstressed syllables before the strong stress is greater than before the (first) strong stress in type 5.

5. x+Π

34a: aΠlédon þa
 35b: on l béarm Γ scípes
 1b: in Π geárdagum
 12a: ðæm Π éafera wæs (æfter céned)
 3a: hu ða Π æþelingas
 29b: swa he Γ sélfa l báed
 52b: hwa þæm Γ hláste onlféng
 66b: oðð þæt seo Γ geógoð gelwéox
 45a: þe hine æt Π frúmscæfte
 206b: þara þe he Π cénðste
 441b: se þe hine l deað Γ nímeð

The patterns outlined above accommodate comfortably at least 95 per cent. of the verses in *Beowulf*. Of those that do not fit in, some may very well represent deliberate deviations from the norm, introduced for the sake of variety, while others are no doubt due to corruption of the text.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ELYOT'S REVISION OF THE *GOVERNOUR*

By ELISABETH HOLMES

THE extensive linguistic and stylistic changes Sir Thomas Elyot made in his second edition of *The Boke Named the Governour* have not hitherto been considered by scholars writing on Elyot's contribution to the English language of the sixteenth century. Croft¹ was probably aware of them, but he was preoccupied with the monumental task of tracing Elyot's classical sources and of glossing his vocabulary. He was content to note an infrequent 'hiatus valde deflendus' occasioned by the change in the political and ecclesiastical climate between the first two editions of 1531 and 1537; he must have seen no implications in what he alludes to as 'merely verbal alterations' in editions subsequent to that of 1531 (p. xiii).

Much has been written about Elyot's neologisms, the evidence in the *Governour* of his desire to enrich the language, and his defence of this enrichment often quoted from the Proheme to *Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man* (1533). However, Elyot's sentence structure, so much like Caxton's,² has seemed a less fruitful study. Yet a collation of the first two editions of the *Governour*³ indicates a modification of Elyot's attitude toward neologisms and archaisms, a developing feeling for the structure of the English sentence, and a recognition of his own weakness for anacolutha, tautology, prolixity, and naïve personal reference.

The need for re-examination of the accepted pronouncements⁴ concerning Elyot's neologisms can be demonstrated by the word *adminiculation*,

¹ H. H. S. Croft, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1883).

² R. R. Aurner, *Caxton and the English Sentence* (Madison, Wis., 1923).

³ I collated the editions of 1531, 1537, 1544, and 1546 from the copies in the British Museum, all printed by Berthelet. Apart from the results of shifting fashions in orthography and the liberties taken by early printers, the editions of 1544 and 1546 follow the 1537 text.

Croft, on the authority of Ames, ascribes an edition to 1534, but admits, 'It is extremely difficult to ascertain precisely in what years these various editions came from the press, on account of the practice adopted by Berthelet of employing old woodblocks for title-pages' (cxiv). Concerning the edition of 1537, the *Catalogue* of the British Museum states: 'The engraved border of the title-page bears the date 1534, but this does not apply to the book.'

Croft makes the undocumented statement: 'The *Governour* was reprinted three times, under the personal supervision of the author' (lxix). I have not been able to find authority for this in any of the sources Croft acknowledged for his life of Elyot. However, there is little doubt that, in seeing his *Dictionary* through the press in 1537, Elyot was in frequent communication with his printer.

⁴ See, for example, A. C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language* (New York, 1957).

which is tantalizing enough to have made scholars speculate at length.¹ The word appears three times in the 1531 edition, and in all three places is either changed or deleted in the 1537 and subsequent editions. Croft glosses it: 'aid, assistance, support . . . None of the Dictionaries² notice this word; it is derived from the Latin words, adminiculum, adminiculari, which are quite classical, and are used with reference to the cultivation of the vine; the former denoting the stake or prop on which the plant was trained' (ii. 450). Elyot's own definitions in his *Latin Dictionary* were 'to ayde, to succour', and 'Ayde, supportation'.³ In the *Gouverneur*, the phrase *without adminiculatiō or aide* in the first edition (15^v) was cut to *without helpe* in 1537. Elyot used the word again in his plea for the study of rhetoric: 'by that science onely do speke or write, without adminiculation of other sciences' (49^r). Although the context could indicate the simple meaning of 'help', Elyot substituted *admynistratyon* in the second edition. The third use occurs in a long passage at the end of Book I, Chapter VIII, deleted in subsequent editions. Its context, though, indicates the more complex meaning of Elyot's second substitution, *admynistratyon*, rather than that of 'aid': 'adaptynge their saide knowlege to the adminiculation of other serious studies and businesse' (27^v).

The example of this representative word poses two questions: Did Elyot's attitude toward the introduction of neologisms change in the course of six years and, if so, why? Can his first published work, the 1531 edition of the *Gouverneur*, be taken as evidence of his final definition of a word? The former is important in determining Elyot's place in the Inkhorn controversy and the latter in providing evidence for lexicographers working on the sixteenth century.

Between the publication of the two editions, Elyot was subjected to three influences. He had been engaged in translation, 'desiringe more to make it playne to all readers, than to flourishe it with ouer moch eloquence'.⁴ Secondly, he had been working on his Latin-English dictionary, which we know was largely completed by 1537. Any prolonged work on definition must leave its mark on a writer's diction, but in Elyot's case the desirability of avoiding Latin roots must have set him to searching for native English or thoroughly assimilated synonyms. The third influence is to be found in the ideas underlying the Inkhorn controversy developing in the Cambridge circle with which Elyot was indirectly associated. Although these did not appear in printed form until some years after this period, we may assume,

¹ Croft, ii. 450; J. Butt, 'A Plea for More English Dictionaries', *Durham University Journal*, n.s. xii (1951), 100.

² O.E.D. gives an example from Hackett (1570) used in the classical sense.

³ *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot* (London, 1538), from the copy in the British Museum.

⁴ Elyot, *The Image of Gouvernaunce* (London, 1540).

354 HOLMES: ELYOT'S REVISION OF THE *GOVERNOUR*

from Elyot's defence of his neologisms already referred to, that they had been current for some time. Elyot's revisions align him more clearly than has yet been demonstrated with Cheke and, especially, with Wilson.¹

Probably as a result of these influences Elyot, in making verbal changes, tended to drop Latin derivatives. In most cases his substitutions derive from Old English or are words already well established in English—to use his phrase, 'become denizens amonge us' (85^v). And he frequently substituted less archaic words.

1531	1537
abandon (his enemies) (89 ^v)	flee from
abandone (54 ^v)	leauē
apprehende (24 ^v)	take
associatinge (82 ^r)	cōpanye
association (82 ^r)	ioynynge
audacitie (83 ^r)	hardynesse
domesticall (11 ^v)	at home
entente (15 ^v)	ende
facile (85 ^v)	easy
fortitude (81 ^v)	strength
magnanimitie (81 ^v)	courage
mature (35 ^v)	rype
ordinance (25 ^r)	ingyns
perspicuitie and declaration (80 ^r)	a playne declaration
pristine (202 ^v)	olde
semblable (16 ^r , 21 ^v)	lyke

Elyot's ubiquitous doublets are always mentioned as one of his methods of introducing neologisms. The collation reveals that, though he added four doublets, he deleted nine. One of the added elements supplemented the idea in the original element and three clarified it; in no case is the addition a neologism.

1531	1537
most stronge (86 ^r) ²	moste strong and valyant
deambulations (63 ^r)	deambulations and moderate walkynge
cement (220 ^v)	cement or mortar
impeached (253 ^v)	impeched or let

¹ The evidence in this study will give point to such conclusions as those of J. Butt, *op. cit.*, and J. Sledd, 'A Footnote on the Inkhorn Controversy', *University of Texas Studies in English*, xxviii (1949), 55-56: 'Refusing the opportunity to innovate too freely, Elyot and Cooper fitted sound English idiom to their Latin. As they said themselves, they understood "the conference of phrases or fourmes of speakynge latin and englishe", and provided such a wealth of English synonyms that their works might increase the student's mastery of both tongues.'

² Folio misnumbered 89.

HOLMES: ELYOT'S REVISION OF THE *GOVERNOUR* 355

More significant to this inquiry, however, are the nine cases in which he deleted one element, retaining or substituting a Germanic or familiar word:

1531	1537
without adminiculatiō or aide (15 ^r)	without helpe
iournaide and pursued (37 ^v)	iournaide
deuoure and cōsume (73 ^v)	deuour
indignation & hatered (77 ^r)	hatered
daunsinge or saltation (78 ^r)	daunsinge
artifice and crafte (82 ^r)	crafte
abandone it or escheue it (86 ^r)	escheue it
excerped and gathered (102 ^r)	gathered
bonet or frēche hatte (110 ^r)	frēche bonette

Most significant is the instance in which he changed both elements, *fortitude and magnanimitie* (81^v) to *strength and courage*.

From the evidence cited above, it is obvious that Elyot, unlike Cheke, made no effort to revive obsolete or obsolescent Old English words. Elyot's lively awareness of changing usage in diction, idiom, and orthography is remarkable, particularly when one recalls the short span of six years between the two editions. In the 1537 edition, many words and idioms take on more modern forms or forms which Elyot felt to be predominant:

1531	1537
admonesteth (249 ^v)	admonysheth
affraunced ¹ (219 ^r)	affyanced
a ferde (201 ^r)	afrayde
aft (10 ^v)	after
againne (66 cases)	againste
agayne saye (222 ^r)	geynesaye
als moche as (178 ^r)	as moche as
annected (96 ^r)	annexed
a nother ² (119 ^r , 155 ^r)	an other
appropred (213 ^v)	approued
a vowes (192 ^v)	vowes
breade (153 ^v)	breadthe
fader (118 ^v)	father
furwith (158 ^v)	forthwith
gadre (136 ^r)	gather
hyderto (94 ^v)	hytherto
improfitable (87 ^r)	unprofytable
incende (88 ^v , 117 ^v) ³	incense

¹ Perhaps a printer's error.

² Five more similar changes were made in the 1544 edition.

³ The only times used in the *Gouverneur*.

1531	1537
infused (234 ^v)	infused
more large (208 ^v)	larger
nighe (199 ^r)	nerer
none one (32 ^v)	no one
noblesse (258 ^r)	nobleness
or ('before') (168 ^r , 168 ^v , 199 ^r , 257 ^v)	er
parfeite (144 ^v)	perfect
possede (176 ^v)	possesse
rightwise (180 ^r)	righteous
saulfely (136 ^v)	saufely
solempne (74 ^r)	solemne
themselves (141 ^v)	themselves
traicte (101 ^v) ¹	treate
use of meat (42 ^r)	use to eat

There is only one shift to a word-form which has not survived: *continence*: (216^r) to *contentation*. In the sentence '... he exhorted thē that they shulde nat suppose his *Continence as if it were pouertie* / shulde be with their presēts relieued', the italicized phrase becomes *contentation in pouertie*, the meaning of contentment rather than restraint being more descriptive of a willingness to eat from a wooden dish.

Several times when Elyot has selected a more modern word, his substitution is of value to the lexicographer. The 66 times *again* is changed to *againste* indicate that by 1537 the trend (at least for one author or one printer²) was fairly well established. A new light on the usage in the 1530's is shed by the change of *aduaunte* (noted by *O.E.D.* as a variant of *auaunt*, 'to boast') to *aduaunce*. More difficult to analyse and probably only the correction of an error is the change of *Vnneth it be considred* (73^v) to *Vnless it be*. Since there is no *O.E.D.* record of this usage, and since Elyot continued to use *vnneth* in the accepted sense of 'scarcely, hardly', the correction of error seems likely.³

¹ Folio misnumbered 103.

² The evidence points to Elyot rather than to Berthelet since the editions of 1544 and 1546 reveal no similar interest in revision. Collation of these later editions with that of 1537 shows changes (82 in the 1544 and 38 in the 1546 editions) but only in rare cases are they of any importance. After eliminating the correction of old and the making of new typographical errors, the deletion or addition of words like *to*, *a*, *the*, and *yet*, the number is very small, the major ones being: in the 1544 edition, *a nother* becomes *an other* 5 times; one phrase and one clause are deleted; the inverted order of two phrases is changed; and *goten* becomes *begoten*. In the 1546 edition, *or* becomes *er* twice; *semeth* becomes *seemed* once; *again* becomes *against* once; *where* becomes *whether* once; the inverted order of three phrases is changed; and *deprehendeth* becomes *apprehendeth*.

³ Cf. Skeat in his *Glossary to Specimens of English Literature A.D. 1394-1579* (Oxford, 6th edn. 1892), p. 537: '*Vnneth, adv. as conj. unless* (but probably misused; it should rather be *vnneth but* or *but*) *vnneth*.'

HOLMES: ELYOT'S REVISION OF THE *GOVERNOUR* 357

Although the evidence is limited, the fact that there is a correspondence between the definitions in Elyot's *Dictionary* and the words he substituted for a number of Latin derivatives may indicate that the work on it changed his original attitude towards the necessity of introducing neologisms. Not all the radicals of the Latin derivatives that he discarded are to be found in his *Dictionary* on which he was working during the year in which he revised the *Gouverneur*, but of the 22 so listed, the definitions of 14 are either identical with or very close to the word substituted in the 1537 edition: 'Fortitudo, strength, valyant courage', 'Prehendo, to take', and 'Saltatio, daunsynge'.

Further illustration of Elyot's desire to simplify and clarify is his reduction of a phrase to a word or two. Occasionally a negative is made positive as in: *no litle* (253^r) becoming *great* and *nothyng beinge in him certayne or stable* (221^r) becoming *being wauerynge or unstable*.

1531

put to discomforte (197^r)
be commytted to (202^v)
wilfull abandoninge (of money) (215^r)
for as moche as (228^v)
loketh to haue (206^r)
in as moche as (217^v)
to the intent to do (187^v)
to the intent that (191^r)
but that as (54^v)
plumes poudred with spangles (110^r)

1537

dyscomfit
are under
refusynge
sens
loketh fore
bycause
to do
bicause
whiche
aglettes

Miscellaneous changes in diction such as any author would make in polishing his work are infrequent:

1531

attayne (that entreprise) (90^r)
attempted (warres) (198^v)
be with (253^v)
connexion (81^v)
exceded (71^v)
giues (gyves) (96^r)
hardnesse (of body) (62^v, 63^r)
libertie (of speech)¹ (118^r)
lite (matter) (51^v)
noble (155^v)
state (112^r)
vertue (234^r)

1537

acheue
making
stand with
coniunction
excelled
chaynes
hardynesse
liberalitie
lyttel
notable
astate
fortune

¹ Noted by Butt (p. 101) as first used by Elyot. It appears also in a deleted passage at the end of Book II, Chap. XIII and twice, unchanged, on 119^v.

Although the orthography of successive editions of the *Gouverneur* is a separate study primarily involving the printer, a few consistent changes are worth noting here. *Nat* is used exclusively in the edition of 1531; *not* is used in most cases by 1537 and in all by 1544. As for the initial *h* in the pronoun *it*, all 9 become *it* in 1537 but 4 others revert to *hit*; however by 1544, all are *it*. Occasional examples of intrusive *h* disappear as in *habundance* (124^v), *Horestes* (144^r), and *unhabill* (186^v). On the other hand, there is no evidence that Elyot was consciously abandoning elisions such as *themperours* (226^v) and *thone and thother* (146^v). Almost an equal number are divided and telescoped in the 1537 edition, but from the fact that most elisions have disappeared by the 1546 edition, we can infer that Berthelet was censoring them along with other kinds of abbreviations. The following is a typical sequence through the four editions: *thētent* (237^r), *thentent*, *the intent*, *the entent*.

From the foregoing evidence, it can safely be said that, as far as vocabulary and phrasing are concerned, Elyot was in the main stream of the developing language. Whether he was equally so in matters of grammar and style remains to be seen. Collation of the two editions points to two conclusions: like other writers of his century,¹ Elyot evidently found no need to modify most of the inflexions that he had used in the first edition. On the other hand, in the larger unit of the sentence, he made great progress toward simplifying and clarifying the amorphous sentences of his first edition.

There is no significant number of inflexional changes in nouns, pronouns, or adjectives apart from the occasional substitution of possessives for phrases with *of* as in: 'his goddes / made to the honoure of them great & noble temples' (171^v) becomes 'made to theyr honoure', and 'the cōmyng of the Persians' (209^v) becomes 'the Persians, comynge'. He changed *ye* to *you* only twice. He occasionally deleted *the* as in: 'by the whiche wordes / he well declared' (226^v). Since the increased use of *who* as a relative pronoun is considered one of the noteworthy developments of the sixteenth century,² it is interesting to see that Elyot dropped *who* for *which* 5 times, 4 referring to persons and 1 to bees. In no case did he reverse the process.

More changes are observable in his use of *that*. He achieves a more modern usage by deleting *that* following *after* 13 times: 'After *that* a childe is come to seuen yeres' (20^r). He deleted *that* introducing a substantive clause used as object or predicate 19 times: 'Gysippus was so wouided to

¹ Baugh (p. 209) says: 'English grammar in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century is marked more by the survival of certain forms and usages that have since disappeared than by any fundamental developments.'

² Baugh, p. 295.

the harte / thinkyng *that* Titus had contemned . . .' (157^v). He also deleted *that* in a number of constructions in which it serves no grammatical purpose according to modern ideas: 'A good man is so named / because *that* al that he willethe or dothe / is onely good' (161^r).

In contrast to the statistically insignificant numbers mentioned above, his deletion of 111 pleonastic subjects (all but 4 of them pronouns) is convincing proof that his attitude toward them was decisive. For example, the second *they* is deleted in the following: 'the Jewes perceyuinge that they were restrayned *they* made of the Gabaronites / . . .' (181^r). Less impressive, but important because it shows his maturing sentence structure, is his deletion or reduction to a phrase of 33 relative clauses: 'There hapned to be in the prease at that tyme / he whiche in dede was the murderer' (159^r) becomes 'The murderer in dede hapned to be in the prease at that tyme' and 'which I suppose is the cause why the auncient courtes of record . . .' (230^r) becomes 'I suppose for this cause, the ancient . . .'.

Changes in verb forms are almost negligible except for his dropping the pleonastic *do* 17 times: 'very litle do lacke' (57^r) becomes 'lacke very lytell'. Eight perfect tenses (4 present and 4 past) were changed to the past tense: the *haue* is deleted in 'as I before *haue* saide' (25^r), and in 'But he nat knowynge but that they had come to endomage hym . . .' (108^v) *had come* is changed to *came*. A final *d* was added to the past participle only 5 times: 'bicause knowlege is in sondry wise *distribute* . . .' (237^r) becomes *distributed*; *expounde* (86^v) becomes *expounded*; *abiecte* (166^v) becomes *abjected*; and twice *reiecte* (207^r and 288^r) becomes *rejected*. In several cases the indicative was changed to the subjunctive as in 'for if he receyued it for an euill purpose / he is thanne a wretche . . .' (217^v) becomes 'For if he receyue it . . .' and 'but that where fortune is more beneuolent . . .' (164^v) becomes 'but that if fortune be more beneuolent . . .'.

In such grammatical relationships as agreement and reference, Elyot made only enough changes to prove that he was alert to them. For example, 'This discōmodities' (121^v) becomes 'These discōmodities' and 8 singular possessive pronouns referring to *children* (17^v) were corrected to plurals. More interesting, though, is the use of the ending *-eth* in verbs, which in the first edition he used in both singular and plural of the present tense. Twenty-two changes would seem to indicate that by 1537 he had decided that *-eth* should be used in the third person singular and not in the plural. Ten verbs following singular subjects change as in: 'By the time that the childe do com to xvii. yeies of age . . .' (41^r) to 'the childe doth com'. Twelve verbs following plural subjects drop the *-eth* as in: 'the stones beinge nat surely couched & mortred falleth a way . . .' (220^v), which becomes *fall away*. Three of these cases having compound subjects (all composed of singular elements) he considered plural as in: 'Also reason

360 HOLMES: ELYOT'S REVISION OF THE *GOVERNOUR*
and cōmune experience playnly declareth...' (14^v), which becomes
declare.

In idiom and usage Elyot's changes are more nearly comparable to those in diction. Like other sixteenth-century writers he frequently, in his edition of 1531, placed an article where modern usage does not. The 1537 revision often drops articles such as are italicized in the following:

the one shall desire to slee a nother (179^r)
with *the* countenance all smylyng (247^v)
that is *a* valiaunt and stable fortitude (200^r)
a pece of *a* podynge 231^v)

As a consequence of other deletions, he obtains a more modern idiom. In several cases a preposition is dropped in favour of a direct or indirect object:

I will shew *to* them (53^r)
my father lefte *to* me (150^r)
for aleyng *of* the great bore (71^v)

Still other deletions make the constructions more economical:

thre thinges he required *to be* in the oration (190^v)
thinking it *to be* expedient (153^r)
it is than . . . accounted *for* wisdome (180^r)
a liberal mā *to be* *he* whiche doth (136^r)
(as *it* is the nature of the perle) (232^v)
prouoke him *to do* fornication (220^r)
Theseus which was company *on* to Hercules (71^v)

Few changes are made in prepositions. The only apparent shift in idiom is from 'Cleopatra / doughter *of* Ptoleme' (242^v) to 'doughter *to* Ptolome' and 'Titus sonne *of* Vespasian' (242^v) to 'sonne *to* Vespasian'.

In word order Elyot's phrases and sentences become less inverted and more coherent. The following short examples will suffice to illustrate about forty:

1531	1537
they honored nat him (237 ^r)	hym nat
many him hated (136 ^v)	many hated hym
and therfore is it called (170 ^v)	it is
psones Ambicious may (214 ^r)	ambicious persones
to hym they repayred (170 ^r)	repayred to hym
lasse grow (42 ^r)	growe lease
diligently examine hym (46 ^r)	examine him diligently
than were they constrained (11 ^r)	they were constrained
dyuers men there be (55 ^v)	there be dyuers men
for thynges . . . if they be (200 ^v)	for if thynges . . . be

Although much of this evidence points to Elyot's growing awareness of sentence structure, it fails to indicate fully the progress he had made in six years. One hesitates to use terms like greater 'compactness' and 'coherence' about an author capable of linking five relative clauses; however, when one recalls the state of the English sentence in the early sixteenth century, one admires Elyot's perceptive and extensive improvements. He revised about 250 sentences.

Contrary to assumptions made on the basis of the first edition of the *Gouernour*,¹ Elyot proves that he knew the basic elements of a sentence. He repaired 13 sentence fragments such as unattached *if* clauses or, as in the following, by deleting the full stop and *He*: 'Aristotell where he declareth the partes of mannes body with their description & offices: and also the sondry fourmes and dispositions of all bestes / foules / and fisses / with their generation. He nameth his boke an historie' (244^r). Conversely, he began 9 new sentences where he had run together independent predications or where the sentence had become more than usually unmanageable.

The following brief miscellaneous revisions are typical also of the longer ones:

1531	1537
wherein the one deliteth / it is to the other repugnant into his nature. (142 ^v)	wherein the one deliteth, is repugnāt to the others nature.
For some thynges there be / whiche be necessary and good to be feared / and nat to feare them it is but rebuke. (196 ^r)	For some thynges are necessary and good to be feared, and not to feare them is but rebuke.
wher upon the Phisicions assembled and deuisinge for the best remedy / they all were determined to gyue hym one medecine / (222 ^v)	Whereupon the phisitions assemblyd to deuyse the beste remedy. All were determyned, to gyue hym one medycyne,
I wolde that if the reder herof be lerned / that he shulde repayre to the Georgikes (8 ^r)	I wolde the reder herof, if he be lerned, shuld repayre . . .
Salomon . . . he after a lyttle bikerynge with the Philisties in the begynnyng of his rayne afterwards duringe the tyme that he raygned / continued in peace. (233 ^r)	Salomon . . . after a lyttel bykerynge with the Philisties, in the beginning of his rayne, continued in peace.

¹ S. J. McCoy, 'The Language and Linguistic Interests of Sir Thomas Elyot' (diss., University of North Carolina, 1933), sees no points to be made on Elyot's word order (p. 182) and states flatly (p. 206): 'It seems, then, that Elyot unfortunately lacked a conception of the sentence.'

In addition to the many minor deletions already referred to, Elyot used the blue pencil on 17 longer passages. His motive, however, was not that ventured by Croft: '... several passages were expunged in the subsequent editions of the sixteenth century some of which were probably not in harmony with the religious views prevailing at the respective periods of publication' (p. v). Here again, as in referring to the verbal changes, Croft shows no curiosity or accuracy. He does note: 'In the edition of 1546 and all subsequent the royal style is altered' (p. cxc). But the changes occurred in the 1544, not the 1546, edition. Furthermore, a study of the passages, by no means all of which he noted, reveals only one religious implication. Some may have been discarded from motives of delicacy, others because of a more intimate knowledge of Cromwell's or the king's weaknesses, but most because they were repetitious or tedious. If one were to generalize, the fact that 9 of the 17 occur at or near the end of a chapter would indicate that Elyot had decided that a rambling summary was superfluous.

The extent and content of these deletions can be judged from the following:

- c. 140 words reiterating his ambitions in writing the book and the benefit the reader can derive therefrom. (15^v)
- c. 200 words elaborating not too delicately on the bad influences that invade the nursery. (16^v)
- c. 250 words, a confused defence of his having favoured education in the arts, concluding with a rhapsody on those born to high place. (27^r)
- c. 25 words referring to the arguments he would omit 'to auoide tediousnes'. (45^v)
- c. 190 words labouring 'the excellent commoditie to be taken by a study of law'. (58^v)
- c. 50 purely exclamatory words. (100^v)
- c. 90 words on the superiority of the crossbow for hunting. (100^v)
- c. 75 words on King Philip's reprimanding Alexander for prodigality. (138^r)
- c. 325 words speculating on the essence of friendship. (160^v)
- c. 225 words on friendships strained by changes in social status. (165^r)
- c. 50 words in praise of a prince who punished justly. (169^r)
- c. 200 words on the Turkish practice of impaling those who broke their contract. (191^v)
- c. 225 words on the relative ease of preserving or reforming the commonweal and the desirability of a ruler's observing faith and punishing its breach. (194^v)
- c. 70 words quoting Erasmus and ending on the characteristic note: 'I will leaue now to write any more.' (204^v)
- c. 125 words attempting to make an analogy between an unsatisfactory painting and teaching children stability. (220^v)
- c. 25 words citing the vague authority of 'some who yet lyueth' to confirm what has gone before. (231^r)

c. 65 words: 'And here will I nowe make an ende', &c. (233^v)

In no case did such material as was added in the second edition extend to a full sentence.

Throughout his revision of the first edition, Elyot's changes point in one major direction, that he wished to modernize, to simplify, to clarify, and to make his style more vivid. Certainly the desire for vividness can be the only motive for 30 changes from indirect to direct discourse as in the following: 'The other still persistynge sayde / that the emperour was nat bounden to obserue his owne lawes.' (177v) becomes 'The other still persistynge sayde, The emperour is not

MILTON'S FIRST SONNET ON HIS BLINDNESS

By ANN GOSSMAN AND GEORGE W. WHITING

IN an age when literary criticism flourishes, it is not to be expected that Milton's best-known sonnet, the first on his blindness, should be neglected. For hundreds of years this poem has deeply moved innumerable readers, who apparently were not aware of any difficulties or conflicts of interpretation and, of course, were not preoccupied with the poetic image (the obsessive concept of some modern criticism). Recently some critics have rejected as naïve or misleading the assumptions of their predecessors and, discovering problems to be solved, have offered extensive commentaries and novel interpretations. Although this criticism may be welcomed as evidence of a lively interest in Milton, its assumptions and conclusions demand strict analysis and evaluation.

This paper proposes first to review three recent studies of this sonnet and then to offer an interpretation which is in harmony with Milton's thought and purpose and which should lead to a solution of alleged problems. Of special importance is an authentic exposition of the parable of the talents, the basic image of the sonnet.

In the most recent study, Mr. Roger L. Slakey asserts that Tillyard, Brown, and Smart failed to appreciate the gravity of the problem presented in the octave.¹ Mr. Slakey insists that Milton fully realized that the alternatives set forth in the parable of the talents were heaven and hell, man's salvation and his damnation. Mr. Slakey alleges that in the traditional interpretation of the sonnet the solution proposed is either the relinquishing of the talent or trusting to its future use, and he asserts that this interpretation fails to bind together the octave and the sestet, with the result that the poem is theologically false and artistically imperfect.

Mr. Slakey believes that his interpretation solves this problem. Announcing gravely, as a truth just revealed, that Milton had a good heart and wished to serve God, he declares that this good will binds together the octave and the sestet, thus preserving the theological orthodoxy and the artistic unity of the sonnet, which other critics had somehow impaired. Mr. Slakey then carefully explains that 'in the octave, *without realizing it*, the speaker is meeting his situation and making possible the explanation of the sestet'. In his definition of 'talent' Mr. Slakey includes, besides the

¹ 'Milton's Sonnet "On his Blindness"', *E.L.H.*, xxxvii (1960), 122-30.

poetic gift, the poet's 'blindness, . . . his frustration, and whatever else makes up his situation or present life condition'. He insists that the poem 'does not close upon a clear note of resignation at all', for the poetic gift is not abandoned and the poet's yoke is 'in part made up of ability and continued desire'.

In reply it should be said emphatically that the gravity of Milton's problem (which is his inability because of blindness to use his talent in God's service—not a problem literally involving his salvation or damnation) must have been understood by most critics, as it is by most readers. No one needs to be told that Milton had a will to serve God. It is naïve to say that Milton, a conscious artist, met the situation 'without realizing it'. There is no basis for Mr. Slakey's definition of talent, in which he includes blindness (blindness a talent!) and everything else in the poet's condition. Talent, of course, means the poetic gift, which is not abandoned but is, as the poet says, 'useless'. The sonnet closes with a firm avowal of resignation. Mr. Slakey declares that the secret of the life of a good man is not resignation but aspiration to something great and good. This doubtless is one of the secrets of the life of a good man—but in the sonnet Milton's secret is resignation, for, as Smart explains, he accepts God's decrees and waits 'with quiet endurance for the fulfilment of his purpose'.

Mr. Slakey does not mention the study by Mr. Harry F. Robins,¹ who also rejects the traditional interpretation and insists that the sonnet expresses Milton's confidence in his ability to triumph over his affliction and to create the poetry of which he had dreamed. This interpretation is made possible by dating the sonnet 1655—a date for which there is no evidence—and by associating the sonnet with later statements in which Milton expressed his faith in his high destiny and his sense of lofty purpose. Dividing the angels into two categories, those who act as God's messengers and those who remain around God's throne to do Him honour, Mr. Robins sees in the sestet an implicit statement of Milton's 'future role in the world of men', where Milton enrolls himself with those who, like Moses, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin, 'have brought God to men and hence men to God'. Mr. Robins alleges that the last three lines of the sonnet 'constitute Milton's triumphant re-dedication of himself to the calling of poetry'. He had laid aside his singing robes. He now 'assumes' them 'in the sure knowledge that the possession of a purer and more precious interior light makes him a fit interpreter of the divine mysteries'. In this chastened mood he discovers the strength that lies in weakness and perceives that like God's most favoured angels, 'who only stand and waite', he may 'comprehend, interpret, and announce the ways of God'. Mr. Robins is convinced that his interpretation is 'consonant with the text of the poem, with attitudes

¹ 'Milton's First Sonnet on his Blindness', *R.E.S.*, N.S. vii (1956), 360-6.

revealed in Milton's other writings, with the date 1655 established by Hanford, and, above all, with the character of the poet, who consistently affirmed that his was a dedicated life'.

There are grave objections to this interpretation. Mr. Fitzroy Pyle asserts that Milton did not divide angels into two groups radically different in degree and function.¹ Since Milton rejected scholastic angelology, he could not have meant to imply that he was called to a higher order of service, 'illuminated by a purer and more precious light'. Mr. Pyle insists that Milton, now 'all the more resolutely determined ("bent") to use his "Talent" in God's service', is impelled to cry out against the apparent impossibility of using his talent. Milton asks, 'Is God indeed "a hard man", exacting the full day's work he had bargained for, even though the light fails?' This is no plea for exemption from duty but a bitter complaint against God's apparent injustice. The poet's light is spent, and his gift is lodged with him useless, but it is not the poet who is responsible. It is God who seems to be unjust. But the poet's complaint is presumptuous, and Patience quickly interposes to banish discontent, dispel doubt, and instil faith and hope, 'all by imparting the right doctrine of God's will and service'. The octave builds up to a climax of implied resentment against God's decrees and His apparent injustice. The sestet leads down to calmness of mind and restoration of faith in God.

In substance this is Mr. Pyle's interpretation of the sonnet. His exposition of the parable of the talents is open to question. Mr. Pyle asserts that the imagery of the octave, built around the parable, is 'predominantly mercantile'. The leading image of the octave is, he says, 'that of a hard, exacting task-master', but this gives place in the sestet to the presentment of God 'as a mild and universal king'. Mr. Pyle explains that God 'is no merchant looking to his servants for help in increasing his riches—no business man reckoning the returns on sums entrusted to his employees, and anxiously concerned that they shall all keep unremittingly at work or suffer the consequences' (pp. 379-80).

Opposed to this interpretation of the parable of the talents as predominantly mercantile is the unanimous sense of many commentaries by the most learned and respected authorities, such men as Martin Bucer, Bullinger, Augustine, Jerome, Melancthon, Basil, Origen, Augustine Malorate, whose interpretations with many others are collected in *A Catholike and Ecclesiastical Exposition of the Holy Gospell after S. Mathew* (1570). Here is a summary of this most authoritative exposition of the parable of the talents.

The interpretation is based upon the first verse: 'For the kingdom of heaven is as of a man travelling into a far country, who called his own

¹ 'Milton's First Sonnet on his Blindness', *R.E.S.*, n.s. ix (1958), 376-87.

servants, and delivered unto them his goods' (Matt. xxv. 14). In harmony with this verse the meaning of the parable is religious—not secular. The man is Christ, and his servants are Christians or preachers and ministers of the Word. 'Christ doth as it were take a long iourney from his houshould, untill the last day of resurrection . . .' (f. 596). Both evangelists, Matthew and Luke (xix. 12–27), agree that it is not meet that servants 'sit ydell and unprofitable: for euery one hath a seuerall office enioyned unto him, in the which he may exercise himselfe: and that therefore they ought to be deligent in their busynes that they may finish the Lordes worke'.

Talents are gifts or graces which are to be used in the Lord's service. True servants of Christ have their vocations: 'They being called, heavenly gifts are committed unto them, for the profite of the Church.' We have nothing of our own. Heavenly gifts are 'meete for the promoting of the kingdome of God. . . . What good thing soeuer is in us belongeth unto God. Therefore no man should arrogate anything to himself as if it were his own. What hast thou O man that thou hast not receiued?' (1 Cor. iv. 7). The grace of God is not equally bestowed, but is given according to the need and the office. Gifts, offices, power to perform the same—all come from God. Our ability comes from God, whose servants we are. 'So that, whosoeuer will deuide with God, he shall haue nothing left to himselfe.'

The words 'occupy till I come', in Luke, apply to the preaching of the Gospel, by which the church is established and the kingdom of Christ increased, 'which goodes or treasure are men obtayninge salvation by fayth in Christ'. The ministry is not limited to ministers but includes all who, endued with the gifts of God, ought to promote His glory. It is the duty of all men to whom God's gifts are committed 'to geeue all glorye unto God, to prayse God, to liue honestlye, to exhort all men to goodnes, to do good unto all men, and by such like godly labour, to wyn many unto God' (ff. 598–9).

In all this there is no hint of a mercantile transaction or of financial profit. 'All who labor do gayne to the Lord, not seeking those things that pertaine to themselues, but the Lordes.' As every man doth most profit his brethren and 'doth profitablye use those giftes to their profite which hee hath receiued at the handes of God: so hee is said to bringe gaine, and fruite unto God'.

'After a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them.' It is long ere Christ come, 'yet for all that, hee will come at the last judgment', to punish the slothful servants and to bestow unspeakable gifts upon the faithful. The meaning of the parable is made clear in the comment on this verse: 'When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: . . .':

The summe and effecte is, that the faythfull shoulde prepare themselues to the studye of a holye and godlye life, in hauinge respecte with the eyes of fayth to

the Heauenlye lyfe, which being now hidde, shalbe at the last reuealed in the comminge of Christe. (f. 601)

This was the orthodox and authentic exposition of the parable of the talents. (Essentially the same interpretation is to be found in John Gill's *Exposition of the New Testament*, i (1809).) Although literally a business transaction, the parable was converted into an image of the religious life, the Christian life under God, in which the talents are God's gifts to man to be devoted to His service. The marginal commentary in the Geneva Bible succinctly states the purpose of the parable: 'This similitude teacheth us how we ought to continue in the knowledge of God, and doe good with the graces God hath giuen us.'

In harmony with this interpretation Milton regarded his talent as the gift of God, not to be used selfishly for material reward or worldly fame but in the service of God. But in his blindness—and the sonnet seems to have been written when his calamity was still fresh—he was moved to protest against God's seeming injustice. Mr. Pyle asserts that Milton's doubt and impatience were due to two complementary causes: 'supposing that the lesson of the parable will be applied with all the rigour of the old law, and forgetting that through the Gospel' Christians have come under a new discipline. 'In other words he was thinking of salvation as a matter of merits and rewards, whereas, to quote his *Christian Doctrine*, "It is faith that justifies, not agreement with the decalogue"; . . .' (p. 381).

There is no basis for this sharp distinction. We know that in the New Testament parable correctly interpreted Christ is the Lord of the servants. Milton merely asks, 'Doth God exact day-labour, light deny'd?', a question that need not imply the rigorous enforcement of the 'old law'. Surely Milton knew that the injunction to keep God's commandments 'is to be understood in the spirit of the New Testament, not the Old'. He knew that in the parable of the talents God's service was not a bondage to the letter of the Law, and he could not have intended to imply in the sonnet that salvation rested 'upon works alone, upon unremitting effort . . .'. Assured that through Christ mankind had been freed from 'works of Law to works of Faith' but by his blindness deprived of the ability to serve actively, Milton was obliged to rely upon faith and to conclude that in his case active service was not essential.

It is Mr. Pyle's belief that the poet's 'philosophy of effort, dictated by his energetic temperament, has its validity'; that there 'is no suspension of will, no abnegation of purpose, no prospect of a sterile future'; and that spiritual balance is restored. In reality Milton at this time accepts another philosophy, dictated by his blindness and tersely stated in this line, 'They also serve who only stand and waite'. He has a sincere wish to serve, but the harsh fact is that he is unable to serve actively. There is no abnegation

of purpose, but there is no assurance that his purpose can be carried out or that the future will not be sterile. In Milton's state spiritual balance is something not yet achieved; the elements in conflict are not reconciled.

Undoubtedly Mr. Robins errs by interpreting the sonnet in the context of Milton's later statements. In the sonnet there is no basis for his belief that Milton has a purer inner light that qualifies him as interpreter of the divine mysteries. This enlightenment or revelation may come later. In his turn, Mr. Pyle seems to go beyond the evidence by declaring that 'an angry sense of frustration at the onset of blindness gives place to steady hope' and that the sonnet closes 'in the steady hope that creative power will return'. This hope springs in the critic's breast, not the poet's. Finally, Milton's clear and positive meaning is challenged by Mr. Slakey's arbitrary and unjustified assertion that 'Patience's reply' offers no solution for the problem posed in the octave of the sonnet.

The truth is that, permanently 'exil'd from light', Milton resolves to heed the voice of Patience counselling resignation. In his spiritual crisis resulting from his blindness this is plainly the course he intends to follow. The truth is that his talent is now useless. He does not say or imply that he has any hope of regaining his creative power or that he now has that inner light which might enable him to interpret the divine mysteries. The critics, more prophetic than critical, seem to minimize Milton's dilemma and in particular to ignore that final line which tolls the end of his active career: 'They also serve who only stand and waite.' Milton must now trust that in lieu of active service God will accept his willingness to serve. His most urgent task is to learn somehow to bear his affliction.

Of course we know that ultimately he will summon the resolution to transcend his almost unbearable loss. We know that ultimately, with mind enlightened by celestial light, he will regain the use of his talent and with it serve the divinity that shaped his ends. But now, ere half his days are spent, he knows nothing about the future. Now, imprisoned in darkness, isolated from the world, poignantly conscious of his own frailty and of God's infinite and self-sufficing power, he implies that he cannot henceforth render service in an active way, and indeed he says that God does not need his active service.

Milton's tragic dilemma should not be minimized but should elicit the critic's full and sympathetic understanding. As a Christian he does not dare to dispute God's will, but surely he is not reconciled to his loss of sight. He obviously wishes to heed the admonition of Patience, but he has no hope of using his talent in God's service. As a Christian he must not think of giving way to despair, but he is far indeed from being optimistic. He bluntly declares that the talent which is death to hide is lodged with him 'useless'. This unequivocal assertion, which is not withdrawn,

modified, or nullified by any word that follows, seems in fact to be completely ignored by those who say that the sonnet furnishes evidence of Milton's hope that his poetic life would be resumed.

On the contrary, with his light spent and his active life definitely at an end, Milton must have thought that his poetic career was also at an end, that, as Paulinas described the life of man, it was 'occidu temporis umbra', a shadow at sunset. At this time it is clearly improbable that Milton should have looked forward with hope and that in the last line of the sonnet he intended to project, as David Daiches asserts, 'a mood in the light of which life seems more interesting, more significant, and more tolerable'.¹ As regards Milton this statement is irrelevant: he could not have had the least reason to think that after his blindness his life would be more interesting and significant. In his sombre mood there is no suggestion of such a possibility and no assurance that he hoped to resume his poetic career. To use the words of F. R. Patterson, the truth is that 'Milton naturally felt that his great poem . . . must now remain unwritten'.² As the years passed he might make adjustments; but the obvious fact is that Milton in this crisis and afterwards did not enjoy the cool detachment, the clear foresight, and the facile optimism which somehow permit his critics to see in his blindness not an unmitigated calamity but a kind of blessing in disguise. As Gilbert Murray has said of the poet in general, Milton in his blindness had in a very special sense to stand outside 'the prison of the material present'. Ultimately this enforced aloofness may have served his natural inclination and real genius. In the meantime, not renouncing the world but isolated from it by his blindness, which, for the time at least, made his talent useless, he was obliged to take his place with those who merely wait on the Lord. With faith and with heaven as his guide 'through the world's vain mask', his most urgent need was to find a way to live in darkness, not knowing, of course, and perhaps scarcely daring to imagine, what the future might disclose.

Mr. Fitzroy Pyle writes:

Miss Gossman and Professor Whiting attack my case on two grounds: first, it neglects the accepted interpretation of the parable of the talents; secondly, it neglects the concluding line of the poem. On both grounds I think they fail to make their point.

First, for the parable of the talents. To interpret it as predominantly mercenary is, as these critics show, opposed to the unanimous sense of many commentaries. But that is, nevertheless, how Milton customarily understood it; and, so understood, it made a profound impression on his

¹ 'Poetry and Religion', *Literary Essays* (1956), p. 209.

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In 'When I consider' this 'eye for an eye' interpretation of the parable determines the mood of the octave, which is altogether opposed to that of the sestet, where the thought, though not specifically touching on the parable, is in harmony with its orthodox exposition. It was with this sharp distinction in mind that I stressed the contrasts presented in the two sections of the sonnet—between God the hard task-master and God the benign king, between strict exaction and mild subjection, between the spirit of the Old Testament and that of the New.

Seeking to read the poem as in consonance throughout with the accepted interpretation of the parable, Miss Gossman and Mr. Whiting say 'Milton merely asks "Doth God exact day-labour, light deny'd?"' 'Merely'? That is not the word Milton uses. He says 'fondly'. He has only to formulate the question for it to seem patently absurd. Why it is absurd Patience makes clear by implicitly disproving the major premiss of the octave, that to render up talent for talent is at all times and in all circumstances rigorously demanded of the Christian.

As for the last line, far from ignoring it, I devoted two pages to it, reinterpreting it in the light of Luke xii. 35-40. This passage, like the parable of the talents, is an image of the Kingdom of God enjoining constant watchfulness, but, unlike that parable, enjoining nothing more until the

¹ *The Works of John Milton*, Columbia edn., xii, 324, 322.

² *Ibid.*, iii (ii), 495.

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⁴ *Ibid.*, XII, 321, 324.

³ *Ibid.*, III (i), 229.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III (i), 282.

lord's return, when the servants, being ready, will 'open unto him immediately'. Here is a text setting forth the culminating thought of the sonnet—its whole aim and object—that to stand and wait, inactive preparedness, is service as acceptable to God as active employment: 'Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching.' This is no facile optimism, but it does, I believe, express the steady hope that creative power will return, in God's good time.

In Miss Gossman and Mr. Whiting's view the last line means that Milton 'was obliged to take his place with those who merely wait on the Lord'. Again, why 'merely'? Surely this is a most profitable occupation. 'Those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth' (Ps. xxxvii. 9); 'they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength' (Isa. xl. 31); 'It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord' (Lam. iii. 26). Nevertheless, to Miss Gossman and Mr. Whiting the line conveys utter despondency: Milton 'has no hope of using his talent in God's service'. Why then 'waite'? Why even 'stand'? As St. Paul says, 'If we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it' (Rom. viii. 25). It is these words 'stand and waite' that modify, though they cannot for the present withdraw or nullify, the declaration that the talent is 'useless'; and, moreover, they composedly confirm the remarkable assertion with which that declaration was coupled, that in his blindness the poet is 'more bent' to put it to use.

That spiritual and emotional equilibrium are established Miss Gossman and Mr. Whiting cannot agree. Milton 'obviously wishes to heed the admonition of Patience'; but 'the elements in conflict are not reconciled'. 'His most urgent task is to learn somehow to bear his affliction.' In the poem none of these statements is corroborated. This is no case of a man struggling to gain self-control, no case of 'You Heavens, giue me that patience, patience I need'. To an impatient question Patience replies, consoling, wisely explaining, all the time in control. Here is no conflict, no answering back, for impatience has spent itself in its angry outburst, and already as Patience intervenes the 'I' of the octave has recognized his 'murmur' for what it is and confessed his folly.

The sonnet is a record of impatience recollected in a state of patience—a recurrent pattern of experience, it seems, at this time of crisis. For it is no unique event that it narrates, like 'Methought I saw my late espoused Saint'. It uses the present tense. 'When I consider . . .' implies 'Whenever I consider . . .'. Each time that happens, the poet says, he is assailed by impatience, but he 'soon' regains his composure, reflects on the true doctrine of God's service, and calmly resolves to await His bidding. He has his lapses; but the thought contained in the last line never fails to restore his equanimity.

THE TWO BLAKES

By E. D. HIRSCH, JR.

THE myths and personifications in which Blake expressed his joys and desires, ideas and aversions, remained remarkably consistent throughout his career as a poet and painter. In his drawings, for example, the same figures constantly recur. The most characteristic figure, the archetypal old man with white flowing hair, serves to represent variously Urizen, Jehovah, King Lear, Har, Job, Minos, Ugolino, St. Peter—to give an incomplete list. In one of Blake's most famous engravings, 'The Morning Stars Singing Together', God and Job are near replicas of one another, the main difference being that God's arms are spread in benediction while Job's are at rest in an attitude of devotion. This striking consistency in Blake's mythic imagination has exercised a subtle influence on interpretations of his poetry. The continued recurrence of the same or very similar mythic forms has led us to expect and subsequently to discover that his poetry as a whole is fundamentally unified and consistent. But the very fact that Blake characteristically used the same mythical figures to represent widely varied meanings should serve warning that with Blake consistency in outline does not necessarily imply consistency in outlook. It is true that many of his characteristics as a visionary never changed. Many of his doctrines and opinions never changed. But the content of his visions and the significance of his doctrines changed more radically than any commentator I have consulted has been willing to admit.

It is, of course, quite necessary when composing a general study of a writer's work to assume that it reveals some kind of overall pattern. It may be a pattern (following an older fashion) of 'periods', or a pattern of gradual evolution, or (and this is nowadays the most popular type) a pattern of consistency and unity. Frequently enough the pattern chosen is a matter of subsidiary interest to the interpreter. It remains a convenient guiding idea which permits him to organize his individual insights—an unexamined assumption rather than a thesis to be proved. But uncritically adopted assumptions which determine the selection of data and their significance can severely damage the whole enterprise if they happen to be incorrect, and the assumption that Blake's work is essentially unified is, to speak mildly, highly debatable. If the assumption turned out to be wrong, one wonders how many past elaborations of Blake's 'view of art' or his

'view of reality' would come to be seen as merely ingenious and misleading amalgamations of his shifting *views* on those matters.¹

Fortunately, the assumption of essential unity in Blake is not quite universal. In the sound and sober pages of Sloss and Wallis it is heartening to read:

All the relevant passages were brought together under their proper terms and in chronological sequence. The initial stages of the analytical process were laborious and slow, because of the strangeness of Blake's mystical dialect and the fragmentariness and obscurity of his myths. The ground had to be traversed many times, and many working hypotheses made and abandoned before serviceable clues could be discovered. Then when the main symbols had been worked out to more or less clearly defined significances, the tendency towards an underlying dualism became apparent, a point beyond which simplification could not proceed.²

Convincing as these remarks are—being made in a context where every assertion is backed by scrupulous citation—Sloss and Wallis could, nevertheless, hardly complain when Blake scholars failed to heed their warning. They themselves were elsewhere ambiguous on this very point. They spoke frequently of Blake's work not as containing irreducible dualities but as exemplifying a natural process of development. At one point, speaking of the prophetic books in general, they say, 'in spite of manifold verbal inconsistencies they do reveal a doctrine, if not uniform, at least harmonious'.³

This last rather condescending remark exemplifies another fairly widespread idea: that 'Blake was not a formal thinker'.⁴ On this point Sloss and Wallis are demonstrably wrong, and it was, no doubt, to combat such derogations of Blake's brains that his enthusiastic defenders have replied: 'Blake *never* falls into contradiction' (Damon's italics) or 'Consistency, then, foolish or otherwise, is one of Blake's chief preoccupations, just as "self-contradiction" is always one of his most contemptuous comments'.⁵ Now although the Blake enthusiasts are right to argue for his consistency and logical power, they are on less sure ground when they employ as a corollary the argument that Blake's views remained essentially the same throughout his life. Actually, the only way to salvage Blake's reputation as a logical thinker or a philosopher is to deny that his views remained the

¹ For previous discussions, see H. M. Margoliouth, *William Blake* (London, 1951), pp. 124-6, on a shift from 'rebel' to 'prophet', and D. V. Erdman, *Blake, Prophet Against Empire* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 270-1, on the effect of current events.

² D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis, ed., *The Prophetic Writings of William Blake* (Oxford, 1926), II, xi-xii. See also pp. 124-5.

³ *Ibid.* II, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* II, 9.

⁵ S. F. Damon, *William Blake. His Philosophy and Symbols* (London, 1924), p. 70. N. Frye, *Fearful Symmetry. A Study of William Blake* (Princeton, 1947), p. 14.

same. It is only when his apparent contradictions are shown to be expressions of two quite different outlooks held at two different periods that his poetic and philosophic 'consistency' reveals itself.

This consideration has not, so far as my reading extends, forced itself on the attention of any commentator from Swinburne in 1868 to Margoliouth in 1956. One might think that such a common-sensical point must long ago have been made somewhere, but the opinion which has almost uniformly prevailed is that of Mr. Frye:

His principles he held with bulldog tenacity all his life. The lyrics of his adolescence, the prophecies of his middle period, the comments which blister the margins of books he read on a sickbed at seventy, are almost identical in outlook.¹

Each of Blake's engraved poems, according to Frye, 'whatever its date not only belongs in a unified scheme but is in accord with a permanent structure of ideas'.² Of course, some versions of the one Blake are not so extreme. Mark Schorer, for example, observes both 'splenetic' and 'affirmative' moods in Blake's attitude to nature, but nevertheless insists that in all the longer poems (where Blake carefully states his 'view') the attitude is consistently affirmative.³ The assumption of one Blake is again too powerful. Actually there is not a single affirmation of nature in Blake's longest poem, *Jerusalem*. The text bristles with animadversions against this 'Vegetable Earth'.

In fact, Mr. Schorer has put his finger on one of the fundamental changes which began to occur in Blake's thought a year or so after the turn of the century. Blake's attitude to nature became 'splenetic'. He transferred the main residence of ultimate value from this world to the realm beyond—the realm of 'Imagination' and 'Eternity'. Of course, Blake always valued the world beyond, but what makes his shift of outlook radical and significant is that he transferred *all* genuine holiness and fulfilment to that other world, leaving a 'void' and a 'shadow' where before 'everything that lives' had been 'holy'.

One of the reasons this shift has not been more obvious to interpreters is that all expressions of a mythical and allegorical imagination like Blake's are bound to seem other-worldly. Indeed, it was not until quite recently that Bronowski, Schorer, and Erdman appeared, to emphasize that Blake's poetry was surprisingly this-worldly, that it was actually directed towards and representative of his own times. But the tendency, upon making this discovery, was then to say that Blake had always been primarily concerned with this world, that the single, essential Blake had based his hopes on and

¹ Frye, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ M. Schorer, *William Blake. The Politics of Vision* (New York, 1946), p. 143.

found fulfilment in the realm of temporal existence. The notion as I restate it is, of course, an over-simplification even of Blake's outlook during the period of his life to which such a description would be applicable. He always valued imaginative vision for its own sake. But in his central period the primary subject of his vision was the historical and natural world, while in his later period his main subject became the realm of vision itself, the realm of 'Eternity'.

The character of this change can be suggested in a preliminary way by setting a few typical quotations from the central period over against a few equally typical ones from the later period.¹ Here are seven earlier passages:

1. ALL LIFE IS HOLY. (Lavater, 309, K. 74)
2. It is the God in *all* that is our companion & friend . . . for our Lord is the word of God & every thing on earth is the word of God & in its essence is God. (Lavater, 630, K. 87)
3. He who sees the Infinite in all things, sees God. (NNR, 2nd ser., K. 98)
4. Eternity is in love with the productions of time. (MHH, Pl. 7, K. 151)
5. The pride of the peacock is the glory of God.
The lust of the goat is the bounty of God.
The wrath of the lion is the wisdom of God.
The nakedness of woman is the work of God.
(MHH, Pl. 8, K. 151)
6. If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite. (MHH, Pl. 14, K. 154)
7. 'I'll sing to you to this soft lute, and shew you all alive
'The world, where every particle of dust breathes forth its joy.'
(Europe, Pl. iii, K. 237)

I shall now quote seven typical later passages (seven for symmetry and economy; neither list comes close to being exhaustive):

1. 'The terrors put on their sweet clothing on the banks of Arnon,
'Whence they plunge into the river of space for a period, till
'The dread Sleep of Ulro is past.' (FZ, Night 8, 215-17, K. 346)
2. Reynolds: This great ideal perfection and beauty are not to be sought in the heavens, but upon the earth.
Blake: A Lie!
Reynolds: They are about us, and upon every side of us.
Blake: A Lie! (Reynolds, p. 57, K. 458)
3. I assert for My Self that I do not behold the outward Creation & that to me it is hindrance & not Action; it is as the Dirt upon my feet, No part of Me.
(VLJ, K. 617)

¹ All quotations of Blake are taken from *The Complete Writings of William Blake*, ed. G. Keynes (London, 1957). Since this edition is ordered chronologically I supply page references to give the reader an immediate clue to relative dates of composition.

4. 'This World is all a Cradle for the erred wandering Phantom,
'Rock'd by Year, Month, Day & Hour; and every two Moments
'Between dwells a Daughter of Beulah to feed' the Human Vegetable.'
(*Jer.*, 56, 8-10, K. 688)
5. Imagination, the real & eternal World of which this Vegetable Universe is
but a faint shadow, & in which we shall live in our Eternal or Imaginative
Bodies when these Vegetable Mortal Bodies are no more.
(*Jer.*, 77, K. 717)
6. For dust & Clay is the Serpent's meat,
Which never was made for Man to Eat.
(*Everlasting Gosp.*, K. 755)
7. Nature has no Supernatural & dissolves: Imagination is Eternity.
(*Ghost of Abel*, Pl. 1, K. 779)

The works which exemplify these two distinct outlooks can be grouped with some precision. To the central, this-worldly phase belong all the works written between *The French Revolution* (1791) and *Vala*, and to the last phase all the works from *Milton* to the end of Blake's life. Between these two phases there was, quite naturally, a period of transition. This was the period when Blake composed 'Night the Eighth' of *The Four Zoas*. Indeed, it is very likely that Blake abandoned *The Four Zoas* primarily because he no longer believed much of what he had written. *Milton* contains only a few, quite tentative, this-worldly passages.¹ In other words, there is strong textual evidence to suggest that Blake not only held fundamentally antithetical views, but that he held them, as one would have suspected, successively.

It is emotionally impossible to feel that value, fulfilment, essential divinity lie implicit about us, and to feel at the same time that the world about us is one of unreality, disvalue, error, devilishness, corruption. That is something more than a 'verbal inconsistency'; the two feelings exclude one another. A negation, Blake says, is not a contrary. These antitheses of value which negate one another have nothing to do with Blake's belief in dialectic. He did believe in the contrary divinities of this world and the world beyond, but that inclusive faith belonged to his central period. Later, it was overwhelmed and rejected. I shall suggest farther on that the new transcendent faith which followed the rejection was really a return to his earliest attitude, but at this point I simply wish to emphasize the basic point: that many of Blake's beliefs are mutually exclusive as beliefs, and that after a spiritual crisis he rejected his faith that 'every thing on earth is the word of God & in its essence is God'.

¹ Especially 20, 27-33 and 31, 28-63. The latter passage is, interestingly, Blake's most elaborate set piece on the beauties of nature, 'a Vision of the lamentation of Beulah over Ololon'. The point is that nature does not affirm the wonder of temporal existence; it consoles us for temporal existence.

If one looks at Blake's letters with a willingness to entertain the idea I am suggesting they not only begin to corroborate the point, they even show fairly precisely when the crisis occurred. The earlier letters (which do not go back to Blake's first period) all belong to his this-worldly phase:

I feel that a Man may be happy in This World. And I know that This World is a World of imagination & Vision. (23 August 1799)

Away to Sweet Felpham for Heaven is there;
The Ladder of Angels descends thro' the air;

The Bread of sweet Thought & the Wine of Delight
Feeds the Village of Felpham by day & by night.

(14 September 1800)

The last epistolary manifestation of Blake's this-worldly period is an effusion to Flaxman. It is dated 19 October 1801:

Dear Flaxman,

I rejoice to hear that your Great Work is accomplish'd. Peace opens the way to greater still. The kingdoms of this World are now become the Kingdoms of God & his Christ, & we shall reign with him for ever & ever. The Reign of Literature & the Arts Commences. Blessed are those who are found studious of Literature & Humane & polite accomplishments. Such have their lamps burning & such shall shine as the stars.

That was the last time Blake was to speak in his letters of an imminent union of heaven and earth on this corporeal sphere.

The tone of subsequent letters is typified by the letter to Butts written less than three months later, 10 January 1802: 'if Great things do not turn out, it is because such things depend on the Spiritual & not on the Natural World'. His parting comment:

Naked we came here, naked of Natural things, & naked we shall return; but while cloth'd with the Divine Mercy, we are richly cloth'd in Spiritual & suffer all the rest gladly.

It was at some point between these two letters that Blake, according to his own dating, composed these verses enclosed in a letter to Butts, 22 November 1802:

This Earth breeds not our happiness.
Another Sun feeds our life's streams,
We are not warmed with thy beams;
Thou measurest not the Time to me,
Nor yet the Space that I do see;
My Mind is not with thy light array'd.
Thy terrors shall not make me afraid.

'A Man may be happy in this World.' 'This Earth breeds not our happiness.' The sentiments are not 'almost identical in outlook'.

For my purposes it would not be profitable to devote much space to discussing the actual events which precipitated this radical change in outlook. Mr. Erdman has shown in detail how Blake's high-flying hopes, the ones expressed in the letter to Flaxman, were crushed by the cynicism of the politicians after the Peace of Amiens.¹ Nor should one belittle the pain and frustration of the relationship with Hayley, nor the dulling effects of his wife's and his own worsening health, nor the terror and anger aroused by his being tried for his life on a charge of sedition. All of these dismal experiences came in relentless succession after the letter to Flaxman. However, I would suspect that any other misfortunes of the sort which life invariably imposes would have altered Blake's view. He was ripe for the change.

The duration of the transition period before Blake's final, transcendent phase can be determined with the same kind of relative precision by looking at the subsequent letters. Between 1802 and 1804 Blake had his ups and downs of elation and depression. This was written 22 November 1802:

Tho' I have been very unhappy, I am so no longer. I am again Emerged into the light of day; I still & shall to Eternity Embrace Christianity and Adore him who is the Express image of God.

Note that this re-emergence into the light of day is connected with a traditional, transcendental Christianity and with the concept of Eternity—a word which begins to appear frequently even in the letters. He reassures his friend that his 'Enthusiasm is still what it was, only Enlarged and confirm'd', and one suspects that this enlargement is precisely an enthusiasm for the eternal and spiritual, even though Blake is not yet willing so suddenly to abandon the habits of his earlier faith.

In January 1803 he writes that he is too old to be imposed on by life; he is not made uncomfortable by disappointed hopes: 'only illness makes all uncomfortable'. In April 1803 he is grateful to Butts for endeavouring 'to lift [him] out of despondency', and he asks pardon for his 'perhaps, too great Enthusiasm' in hoping 'that those who dwell in darkness & in the Sea coasts may be gather'd into his Kingdom'. On 26 October 1803 he writes to Hayley, 'God send better times!' What I am suggesting is that the period of transition continued until the famous epiphany which occurred when Blake visited the Truchessian Gallery of pictures. He reported his new feelings to Hayley in the much quoted letter of 23 October 1804:

For now! O Glory! and O Delight! I have entirely reduced that spectrous

¹ See Erdman, esp. pp. 371-3.

Fiend to his station, whose annoyance has been the ruin of my labours for the last passed twenty years of my life.

The finality of the experience is confirmed not only by this explicit rejection of his past feelings, but also by what Blake says in the next letter to Hayley on 4 December 1804:

I have indeed fought thro' a Hell of terrors and horrors (which none could know but myself) in a divided existence; now no longer divided nor at war with myself, I shall travel on in the strength of the Lord God, as Poor Pilgrim says.

That is, I would say, a very accurate description of the spiritual struggle which Blake must have gone through before he achieved his new transcendent faith—a divided existence, at war with himself. Blake, it is clear, did not believe in the theory of the single, essential Blake.

But just what did he mean when he insisted that the new, transcendent vision had been closed to him for the past twenty years, that he 'was again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth'? And farther on in the same October letter to Hayley, why does he again mention the 'twenty dark, but very profitable years' and assert 'that I am become suddenly as I was at first'? I shall not review the various explanations which have been put forward, none of which, as it seems to me, quite hit the mark. In the context of the present discussion it is fairly evident what the explanation ought to be, namely that Blake's earliest writings (all the works, including *Songs of Innocence*, written before *The French Revolution*) were directed towards an idealized, spiritual, transcendent world rather than towards this world. To use Blake's own terminology, it was a world of 'Innocence', deliberately opposed to and unsullied by the facts of temporal 'Experience'.¹ And if we turn to those early works we discover a sort of expression which does recur in the late poetry but is totally absent from the poetry of the central period:

Through the void space I walk, between the sinful world and eternity! . . .
The traveller that hath taken shelter under an oak, eyes the distant country with joy! . . . The sorrowful pair lift up their heads, hovering Angels are around them, voices of comfort are heard over the Couch of Death, and the youth breathes out his soul with joy into eternity. ('The Couch of Death', K. 36)

¹ A detailed comparison of the *Songs of Innocence* with the *Songs of Experience* will confirm this. In the innocence version of 'The Chimney Sweeper', for example, the whole point is the joyful sloughing off of the sooty reality and an entrance into the bright and innocent realm of imaginative vision. The experience version is a far bitterer poem, but, in a secular sense, a far more hopeful one. J. Bronowski is surely right to say that 'the *Songs of Experience* are, at bottom, songs of indignation' (*William Blake* (London, 1944), p. 121). It is the indignation of the reformer who believes that we can in this world the 'fallen, fallen light renew' ('Introduction', K. 210). The 'Two Contrary States of the Human Soul' were also two successive stages in Blake's spiritual development.

And here is Blake's answer to the goddess Contemplation when she invites him to feel the delight and beauty of the natural world:

Heavenly goddess! I am wrapped in mortality, my flesh is a prison, my bones the bars of death; Misery builds over our cottage roofs, and Discontent runs like a brook.
(*'Contemplation'*, K. 37)

In *The Book of Thel* (c. 1789), earth turns out to be a land of graves, where only 'dolours & lamentations' are heard. Thel comes to her own 'grave plot' which is, of course, the mortal body she is to inhabit. From this 'hollow pit' she hears a voice lamenting the woes of materiality and the senses: 'Why cannot the Ear be closed to its own destruction?' and so on.¹ When the voice laments, 'Why a tender curb upon the youthful burning boy?' the poet is not deploring puritanism and the social restraint on sexual freedom. Almost the opposite is true. The tender curb is the body—not social restraints, which in this context are entirely irrelevant. This is perfectly clear in the next line: 'Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire?' The theme is traditional enough, but it could hardly be more in contrast to the themes of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.

Thus Blake's earliest poetry exhibits the same intention as his latest. In both he directs the gaze away from this vale of corruption towards the eternal and spiritual realm. The muses or 'Daughters of Beulah' in both periods serve 'to feed the Human Vegetable' while it wanders in this world of 'Year, Month, Day & Hour' (*Jer.*, 56, 8–10, K. 688). Poetry must convey the light of transcendent glory, the light which had 'for exactly twenty years been closed from me as by a door and by window-shutters'. The poetry of the central period, on the other hand, casts a different sort of light and illuminates the values of a quite different sort of world:

Sweetest the fruit that the worm feeds on, & the soul prey'd on by woe,
The new wash'd lamb ting'd with the village smoke.

(*D. of Albion*, 3, 17–19, K. 191)

Blake, on returning to his earliest attitude, looked upon his 'twenty years' of this-worldliness as a flirtation with Satan, the spectrous Fiend who is God of this world.²

¹ For precisely analogous passages, see *Milton*, 5, 19–37, and *Jerusalem*, 49, 33–41.

² 'Spectre' in the later writings is associated with materiality (see Sloss and Wallis, ii. 233). In the famous letter to Hayley, 'spectrous Fiend' would be Satan as 'Prince of this World' (*Jer.*, Pl. 52, K. 682). This is supported by Blake's calling him 'the Jupiter of the Greeks' (see again *Jer.*, Pl. 52) and 'the enemy of conjugal love'. For the last phrase, compare Swedenborg, *A Sketch of the Chaste Delights of Conjugal Love* (London, 1789), p. 12: 'True conjugal love is the image of the Lord . . . and the Love of Adultery is the image of the Devil.' For the special sense of the phrase, I quote from Blake's annotated copy of Swedenborg's *Divine Love and Wisdom* (1788), p. 403: 'Love or the Will espouses to itself Wisdom or the Understanding, and afterwards takes her to Wife, or as it were

It would, of course, be an oversimplification to view these basic changes in outlook as total *bouleversements*. Blake never abandoned his belief in the divinity of man's imagination. What he abandoned was his belief in the immanent divinity of the living, natural world. Likewise, he never ceased to believe in the reality of that ideal realm which was both the realm of Imagination and also 'the sweet golden clime | Where the traveller's journey is done'. The phrase comes, of course, from the sunflower lyric, which belongs to the very centre of Blake's central period. Natural things in that poem are beautiful and bright compared to the 'couches of the dead' in *Thel*, or to 'life's pelting storm' in the 'Song by an Old Shepherd'. The graves are those of a youth and maiden who have really died, not pejorative symbols for our physical bodies. Thus, although Blake never relinquished his transcendent vision, he did not in his central period deliberately point to it as though its existence were a reproach to this life. He simply embraced both 'contrary' worlds. In fact, the very character of his faith in immanent divinity implied a belief in transcendent divinity as well.¹

Many other doctrines and patterns of thought persisted throughout Blake's career. That is, of course, one of the main reasons that the idea of a single, essential Blake has seemed so compelling. It would be valuable to examine how far the tenor of each one changed or failed to change when Blake's outlook shifted, but I shall content myself in this essay with following out one major theme.

Both in his central and final periods Blake continued to envisage an imminent cosmic consummation. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, for instance, contains a striking apocalyptic passage (Pl. 14, K. 154):

The ancient tradition that the world will be consumed in fire at the end of six thousand years is true, as I have heard from Hell.

For the cherub with his flaming sword is hereby commanded to leave his guard at tree of life; and when he does, the whole creation will be consumed. . . .

I break off the passage in mid-sentence to point out that up till now the prophecy is of the sort which announces the end of the world, that is, the end of physical life as we know it. But then the prophecy continues: '... and appear infinite and holy, whereas it now appears finite & corrupt'. Now just how are we to understand the word 'appear'? Does it mean

enters into Marriage with her.' This is but one of several 'conjunctions' or 'marriages' meant by 'conjugal love' in S.'s system of correspondences. For example, in the treatise on *Heaven and Hell* (London, 1784), p. 238: 'By marriage in the Word is signified the marriage of good and truth. . . . True conjugal love is the kingdom of the Lord and Heaven.' Or *Delights*, p. 39: 'True Conjugal Love in its first essence is Love to the Lord.' Space is lacking, but enough has been said to cast doubt on the vast edifices of conjecture built on the assumption that Blake was hinting at difficulties with his wife.

¹ I amplify this point in *Wordsworth and Schelling, A Typological Study of Romanticism* (New Haven, 1960), pp. 32-34.

'seem' or does it mean 'show forth'? Does it concern the perceiving eye or the thing perceived? The next part of the passage gives the answer: 'This will come to pass by an improvement of sensual enjoyment.' At this point there is no suggestion that physical life will be consumed, or indeed that life's physical characteristics will be in any way altered. Blake *must* be speaking of a change in our mode of perception. And farther on in the passage he is quite unambiguous in his use of 'appear': 'If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite.'

Now, just as in all other cases of apparent contradiction, it is wise to assume that Blake knew precisely what he was doing. His tone in the first part of the passage is ironical. The gossipy phrase, 'as I have heard from Hell', is not rhetorically calculated to scare the reader into preparing his soul for the End. Nor can we assume that Blake wishes us to take seriously the idea that he, William Blake, can inaugurate the conflagration simply by announcing that the cherub 'is hereby commanded'. But the ironic tone is quite absent from the rest of the passage. Blake turns on his irony when he speaks of the 'ancient tradition' because he is not taking that tradition in its literal sense, but is adopting the idea 'that the world will be consumed in fire' to his own quite untraditional prophetic purpose. 'I, too', the strategy implies, 'am announcing the end of the old world and the inauguration of a New Eden, but this will occur by the fire only of sensual enjoyment, which will cleanse our senses to see the world as it really is, infinite.' In other words, the New Eden is already here implicitly, if men would but see it.

This passage is quite typical of the apocalyptic visions in Blake's central period. They are expressed in the terms of traditional eschatology, but they emphatically do not predict even a temporary end to terrestrial life as we know it. The fires of Orc, which in the Lambeth prophecies precede the coming of the New Age, are the fires of revolution, war, human anger, and human bloodshed. No doubt the villains will be annihilated and some innocents as well, but the new life will go on, so far as its physical basis is involved, in total continuity with the old life. At no point in the central period does Blake conceive of the new, post-conflagration era as anything but a renewed and purified continuation of life as it is here and now. Even in the ninth night of *The Four Zoas*, written towards the end of the central period, this is the scene which emerges when 'Man walks forth from midst of the fires':

Stars

Of fire rise up nightly from the Ocean; & one Sun
Each morning, like a New born Man, issues with songs & joy
Calling the Plowman to his Labour & the Shepherd to his rest.

(ll. 831-4; K. 379)

It would be pointless to discuss in detail all the eschatological visions from the central period, since each, without exception, envisages the end of the world in a purely Pickwickian sense. But it is valuable, I think, to quote the last lines of *The Song of Los* because they show how sensual and juicy was the New Eden which Blake envisaged. It is this world, only more so:

The Grave shrieks with delight & shakes
Her hollow womb & clasps the solid stem:
Her bosom swells with wild desire,
And milk & blood & glandous wine
In rivers rush & shout & dance,
On mountain, dale and plain.¹

(K. 248)

That is the same kind of imagery which Ahania uses to describe the golden age which has been replaced by the bleak reign of Urizen (*Ahania*, ll. 19-34). And one also notices that Ahania connects these joys of sensuality with 'eternal science', just as, in the final lines of *The Four Zoas*, Blake connects the reign of 'sweet Science' with the 'ten thousand thousand springs of life' which 'the fresh Earth beams forth'. Thus, at both ends of the central period, in *The Four Zoas*, as well as in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, the New Eden is marked by 'an improvement of sensual enjoyment'.

After the first version of *The Four Zoas* the eschatological visions continue, but how different they are! The most emphatic elaboration of Blake's later conception occurs in the explanation, written in 1810, of his painting, 'A Vision of The Last Judgment'. This document, from the middle of Blake's last period, is so explicit in its rejection of this world, so insistent on the necessity of destroying it, that it has been either deliberately ignored by proponents of the one Blake or shrugged aside as uncharacteristic.² Blake speaks of 'throwing off the Temporal that the Eternal might be Establish'd', and he looks forward to 'the Eternal Consummation of Vegetable Life and Death with its Lusts' (K. 606, 609). In the earlier period, the deliverance was to be achieved when man and nature became explicitly what they already were implicitly—that is, infinite. Now Blake abandons all hope for any temporal paradise. Temporal existence, as such, is unredeemable. One can either cease to behold temporal existence and turn to the world of the mind (K. 617) or one can look forward to 'the death of the Vegetated body' (K. 605). And, so far as eschatological vision

¹ A fact generally overlooked is that Blake's later writings express revulsion from everything corporeal and especially from sexuality. See, for example, *Milton*, 41, 21-27, *Jer.*, 61, 51, and *Jer.*, 92, 13-14.

² See, for example, H. M. Margoliouth, *William Blake's 'Vala'* (Oxford, 1956), p. xvi. Frye, of course, admits only the engraved poems to the 'canon'.

is concerned, one waits for the moment when 'Time falls together with death' (K. 606).

That vision of the last things taken from the heart of Blake's final period is unambiguous enough. But on the first plate of *Milton* (c. 1804) one finds what seems to be another vision of a New Eden in a physical, terrestrial England—the famous Jerusalem hymn. However, one finds none of the sensual, bubbling, flowing, breathing imagery of *The Song of Los*. And rightly so, for much of the power the poem has resides in its very vagueness about the Jerusalem which is to be built. Mr. Frye reports that the hymn 'was sung in front of Transport House at the Labour victory of 1945'.¹ Everyone can fill in his own blood-stirring vision with his own 'Arrows of desire'. Probably that is the very effect Blake wanted to achieve, for he was already beginning to feel that the genuine reality is the vision of 'Jerusalem in every individual Man' (*Jer.*, 44, 39, K. 675).² To perceive the direction Blake's thought was taking it is only necessary to examine the eschatological vision at the very end of *Milton*.

The final line of the poem is 'To go forth to the Great Harvest & Vintage of the Nations.' In other words, Blake's final emphasis is not on a New Eden in England's green and pleasant land but on the destruction of this vegetable world.³ Mr. Frye, guided by the idea of a single essential Blake, passes swiftly over this to say that the ending has an expectant tone. We are supposed to feel that the new Kingdom is about to descend. Now Blake always envisaged some kind of ultimate paradise, but here he is emphasizing the necessity of the preliminary catastrophe. The destruction of vegetable existence occupies his imagination, not the blessedness which will follow. Nothing, after all, can remove the emphasis which a final line automatically receives. Certainly it is not removed, as Mr. Frye suggests, by the line's lack of punctuation which allegedly makes us look forward to *Jerusalem*.⁴ Mr. Frye surely knows that Blake consistently omitted punctuation marks,

¹ M. H. Abrams, ed., *English Romantic Poets. Modern Essays in Criticism* (New York, 1960), p. 57.

² This is supported by the sentiments of a comparable poem on Plate 27 of *Jerusalem*, esp. ll. 65-88. On Plate 77 one finds the poem which ends:

Our souls exult, & London's towers
Receive the Lamb of God to dwell
In England's green & pleasant bowers.

This was introduced by the exhortation: 'Let every Christian, as much as in him lies, engage himself openly & publicly before all the World in some *Mental* pursuit for the Building up of Jerusalem.' My italics.

³ In a memorable and rather gruesome passage at the end of *The Four Zoas* Blake had described in detail both the Last Vintage with its crushing of the human grapes, and the Harvest of the Nations with its thunders, earthquakes, fires, and floods. But unlike the final vision in *Milton*, this was followed by an ecstatic description of the subsequent renewal. See also *Milton*, 27, 30-42.

⁴ Frye, p. 355.

that even *Jerusalem*, along with the majority of the prophetic books, lacks terminal punctuation. And, although he omits to quote it, he must know that Blake's parting flourish in Milton is 'Finis', which is more emphatically terminal than any dot or comma could be. The emphasis at the end is not on 'the building of a continuing city in the England of the Satanic mills', but on the prerequisite eradication of that terrestrial England along with the rest of vegetable existence. The most illuminating commentary on the passage is to be found earlier in *Milton*:

'Wait till the Judgement is past, till the Creation is consumed,
And then rush forward with me into the glorious spiritual
Vegetation, the Supper of the Lamb & his Bride, and the
Awaking of Albion our friend and ancient companion.'

So Los spoke. But lightnings of discontent broke on all sides round
And murmurs of thunder rolling heavy long & loud over the mountains,
While Los call'd his Sons around him to the Harvest & the Vintage.

(25, 59-65, K. 511)

Whatever the 'glorious spiritual Vegetation' will be, it is certain that it will be radically different from this life, the main merit of which is that its renunciation is a step towards redemption. Indeed, one of the primary themes of the poem is renunciation. When the poet Milton descends to correct his misconceptions he has to learn the doctrine of self-annihilation. One recalls that what he needed to learn in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* was that, as a poet, he properly belonged to the self-affirming Devil's party!

By the time Blake came to write *Jerusalem* he had consolidated his transcendent faith. Even though the action of the poem frequently relates to the realm of history, Ulro (the temporal world) is viewed as merely a transient stage in a gigantic Fall and Redemption. Blake is not interested in this life for its own sake, but only in the role it plays in the larger cosmic drama. The attitude is expressed in the first lines:

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through
Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life.

It is the goal and not the passage to it which lends value to the process and which draws Blake's affirmative faith. His rejection of the natural world is now more deeply entrenched than ever before. If he is no longer intent on envisaging its destruction it is only because he has invigorated and codified a doctrine which manages to annihilate the natural world without his having to wait for its destruction at the Last Judgement.¹ The doctrine is:

¹ Blake does call the rejection of the sensible world and the conversion to 'vision' a 'Last Judgement' (*VLJ*, K. 613). This is very telling. The thought has the same structure as the opposite idea in *MHH*, where the Last Judgement is achieved through 'an improvement of sensual enjoyment'.

'Imagination is Eternity' (*G. of Abel*, 1, K. 779). Since this idea is a complex one and is generally misunderstood, it will be useful to discuss it briefly before turning to the eschatological vision at the very end of *Jerusalem*.

One impulse behind the doctrine is the disheartening question posed by Eve in *The Ghost of Abel*: 'were it not better to believe Vision | With all our might & strength, tho' we are fallen & lost?' (K. 780). A more positive version of the idea would be: 'were it not better to find salvation in true vision than to seek it in an unreal world which is fallen and lost?' Blake's usual expressions take the positive form. Vision is the only true reality:

in your own Bosom you bear your Heaven
And Earth & all you behold; tho' it appears Without, it is Within,
In your Imagination, of which this World of Mortality is but a Shadow.

(*Jer.*, 71, 17-19, K. 709)

This saving realm of Imagination, which all men share, is a Jerusalem in the midst of the Vegetable Earth. 'Man is adjoin'd to Man by his Emanative portion Who is Jerusalem in every individual Man. . . . O search & see: turn your eyes inward' (*Jer.*, 44, 38-41, K. 675).

Now although in one sense the world of Imagination is an inner world, and although it is eternal because God guarantees 'the Eternal nature & permanence of its ever Existent Images' (K. 605), it is nevertheless quite literally Eternity. This is the sticking point in Blake's later doctrine, the point which proponents of the single, essential Blake overlook. Blake is not a solipsist and he is not using 'Eternity' in a merely metaphorical sense as representing only that which is permanent and fundamental in human consciousness. He is also talking about life after death, the real Eternity. He fuses the two eternities in the doctrine 'Imagination is Eternity' because he believes that the world of vision is the very stuff of the 'glorious spiritual Vegetation' which will come after the Last Judgement. There are two eternities, two Jerusalems: one within and one beyond. The God who resides in human breasts is the same as the transcendent God. This kind of identification is exemplified in numerous characteristic pronouncements: 'What is Above is Within, for every-thing in Eternity is translucent' (*Jer.*, 71, 6, K. 709). There is both a

Universe Within and

Without; & whatever is visible in the Vegetable Earth, the same
Is visible in the Mundane Shell revers'd.

(*Jer.*, 73, 45-47, K. 712)

And again:

There is an Outside spread Without & an Outside spread Within,
Beyond the Outline of Identity both ways, which meet in One.

(*Jer.*, 18, 2-3, K. 640)

At one point he speaks explicitly of the two eternities: 'The Sin was begun in Eternity and will not rest to Eternity | Till two Eternitys meet together' (*Milt.*, 13, 10-11, K. 494. See also *VLJ*, K. 609, 613, and *Jer.*, 13, 34-36).

Since the Eternity beyond will have the same character as the Eternity within, Blake can speak of life after death as an existence in the world of Imagination. Notice the force of the future tense in the phrase, 'our own Imaginations, those Worlds of Eternity in which we shall live for ever in Jesus our Lord' (*Milt.*, 1, K. 480). In his message to the Christians in *Jerusalem* he speaks of Imagination in the same breath both as 'the real and eternal World of which this Vegetable Universe is but a faint shadow', and as the world 'in which we shall live in our Eternal or Imaginative Bodies when these Vegetable Mortal Bodies are no more'. And I do not see how he could make his doctrine more explicit than to say: 'This world of Imagination is the world of Eternity; it is the divine bosom into which we shall all go after the death of the Vegetated body' (*VLJ*, K. 605). Blake's doctrine expresses faith both in the divinity of vision and in the reality of life after death. At the same time it denies the notion of 'Paine & Voltaire with some of the Ancient Greeks' (and Blake in his post *French Revolution* phase) that we can live here below in 'Paradise & Liberty'. To them Blake responds: 'You may do so in Spirit, but not in the Mortal Body as you pretend, till after the Last Judgment; for in Paradise they have no Corporeal & Mortal Body—that originated with the Fall & was call'd Death & cannot be removed but by a Last Judgment; while we are in the world of Mortality we Must Suffer' (*VLJ*, K. 616).

To attain the final consummation it is, then, necessary to destroy this life, but in *Jerusalem* the violence of the destruction is not emphasized as it was in *Milton* and *VLJ*. In the final plates even the fiery wrath is part of the beatific vision; even Bacon, Newton, and Locke are transfigured! (98, 4-11, K. 745). Man's body is evaporated and transformed into its proper spiritual essence, which is a union of perfect form with all the senses except, of course, that of touch:

Circumcising the excrementitious

Husk & Covering, into Vacuum evaporating, revealing the lineaments of Man,
Driving outward the Body of Death in an Eternal Death & Resurrection,
Awaking it to Life among the Flowers of Beulah, rejoicing in Unity
In the Four Senses, in the Outline, the Circumference & Form, for ever.

(98, 18-22, K. 745)

The New Eden is momentarily and triumphantly compared with the world before the great purification. The 'Living Creatures of the Earth' cry out: 'Where are the Kingdoms of the World & all their glory that grew on Desolation?' (98, 51, K. 746). And then, in the last plate, the vision expands

to comprehend both the transformed temporal world and the world of transcendent eternity. The temporal world has become a genuine brotherhood of all things. Everything is in essence identical with the new spiritual man. At this point we are shown the whole cosmic 'Life of Immortality' which begins in eternity, goes forth into time, returns wearied, rests, and then awakens in God's bosom.¹ This ultimate, ecstatic union is celebrated in Blake's illumination which takes up most of the plate. The final verse is: 'And I heard the Name of their Emanations: they are named Jerusalem.' That is, the real Jerusalem is spiritual; it belongs to the emanative or spiritual portion. Even in the dematerialized temporal world Jerusalem is not the outward form but the spiritual vision within.

This final image of what Mr. Percival calls Blake's 'Circle of Destiny' is a convenient example with which to conclude a demonstration of Blake's fundamental change in outlook.² From beginning to end the circular pattern of his cosmic view, like so many patterns in his thought, remained constant. What changed radically was the significance of that pattern and the perspective in which it was viewed. In Blake's central period the main symbol of life's recurrent cyclicity was Orc, whom, to be brief, we may call 'the spirit of renewal'. Everything, especially human freedom, grows old and feeble and dies. But it does not totally die; it lies quiescent for a period and then bursts forth with all its original, irresistible vigour. This organic process is what Mr. Frye has aptly called the Orc cycle. It is closely connected with Blake's this-worldly period.

For this reason: the extension of organic cyclicity to the whole of life confirms the belief that this world is intrinsically divine. When Blake says, 'every thing that lives is holy', the word 'lives' is clearly significant, for he was never willing simply to say 'every thing is holy'. What *was* holy was the underlying spark of vitality, of 'energy' in things. In the nineties Blake felt the essential divinity of this world because he identified the spark of regeneration with 'energy' or 'life', and 'life' with God. For him, as for other romantics, 'life' was literally the terrestrial expression of God. The significance of the Orc cycle for Blake's view lies in its affirmation that the underlying spark of divinity can never die. Things may go badly, but regeneration is always just round the corner. Furthermore, and this is the point, it confirms the idea that no extra-terrestrial agency is needed to perform the regeneration. The need of such an outside agency would destroy the whole concept of immanent divinity. Thus, for Blake's earlier outlook

¹ This cycle is beautifully depicted in the recently discovered 'The Circle of the Life of Man', painted in 1821. See G. Keynes, 'Blake's Vision of the Circle of the Life of Man', in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, 1954).

² M. O. Percival, *William Blake's Circle of Destiny* (New York, 1938).

the crucial feature of the Orc cycle is its self-contained independence, its self-begetting autonomy.¹

Now the figure of Orc 'gradually disappears from the later writings, undergoing significant modifications in *The Four Zoas* and *Milton*, and occurring but once in *Jerusalem*'.² That is, Orc began to disappear when Blake began to reject his immanent views. For the Orc cycle never transgresses the diurnal sphere, the sphere of nature and of human events. Its thrust comes entirely from within. Behind the myth lies the faith that the world is self-regenerative, self-redemptive. But in all the later conceptions of a cyclic myth the perspective has entirely shifted. Both the beginning and the end of the cycle lie in Eternity, in the bosom of a transcendent God. With characteristic honesty Blake followed out the implications of his disillusionment. His break with his former outlook was ruthless and fundamental. In English letters he was not simply an early romantic, but, having proclaimed his change of heart several months before Wordsworth announced his, Blake deserves to be named an early post-romantic as well.³

¹ Probably the most compact expression of this faith is in the 'Introduction' to *Songs of Experience*:

O Earth, O Earth, return!
Arise from out the dewy grass;
Night is worn,
And the morn
Rises from the slumberous mass.

² Sloss and Wallis, ii. 210.

³ Wordsworth composed the Peel Castle stanzas in 1805. The letter to Hayley was written on 23 October 1804.

THE INFLUENCE OF HOBHOUSE ON *CHILDE HAROLD'S PILGRIMAGE*, CANTO IV

By ANDREW RUTHERFORD

THE fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was dedicated to Byron's close friend, John Cam Hobhouse, who had shared many of the Italian experiences it commemorated. The two men had travelled together from Switzerland to Venice in October–November 1816; they had spent three weeks together in Rome in the spring of 1817; and more recently they had passed five happy months together at La Mira or Venice, while Byron added a large number of stanzas to his first draft of this canto. He was glad to have his friend's congenial company at this time and to benefit by his erudition, while Hobhouse for his part was extremely gratified at having thus been present at the conception and birth of parts of the new poem:

I must confess [he told John Murray] I feel an affection for it more than ordinary, as part of it was begot, as it were, under my own eyes; for although your poets are as shy as elephants or camels of being seen in the act of procreation yet I have not infrequently witnessed his lordship's coupleting and some of the stanzas owe their birth to our morning walk or evening ride at La Mira.¹

He was proud, moreover, to have been not merely an observer, but an assistant, co-operating actively with Byron in this new project. In Canto iv the poet seems sometimes to be striving to include everything of interest to the tourist: indeed he complained that 'the text, within the limits I proposed, I soon found hardly sufficient for the labyrinth of external objects, and the consequent reflections';² and the poem was therefore supplemented, at Byron's own request, by Hobhouse's voluminous notes, and by his separately published *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold*.

It has sometimes been suggested, however, that Hobhouse's contribution extends far beyond this—that his influence can be seen in the poem itself,

¹ Quoted by Michael Joyce, *My Friend H* (London, 1948), pp. 112–13. Stanzas xxvii–xxix of Canto iv illustrate the process Hobhouse describes here, for this interpolated piece of nature poetry was inspired by an exceptionally fine sunset seen during one of their evening rides by the Brenta, near La Mira. See *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry*, ed. E. H. Coleridge (2nd edn. London, 1904–5) [henceforth cited as *PW*], ii, 348, n. 2; and Hobhouse, *Recollections of a Long Life*, ed. Lady Dorchester (London, 1909–11), ii, 77.

² *PW*, ii, 323.

in Byron's increased concern with works of art, and with the recording of such numbers of 'external objects'. For instance, E. H. Coleridge writes:

As the 'delicate spirit' of Shelley suffused the third canto of *Childe Harold*, so the fourth reveals the presence and co-operation of Hobhouse. To his brother-poet he owed a fresh conception, perhaps a fresh appreciation of nature; to his lifelong friend, a fresh enthusiasm for art, and a host of details, 'dry bones . . . which he awakened into the fulness of life'.¹

André Maurois echoes this, though he looks with less favour on the supposed co-operation: ' . . . this last Canto of *Childe Harold* had not gained', he declares, 'by its being written under the immediate patronage of John Hobhouse, Esq., A.M., F.R.S. The third, with Shelley as its inspirer, had been more poetical.'² And quite apart from the opinions of these critics, Hobhouse himself claimed on two separate occasions that he had contributed material for poetic treatment in this canto—that he had provided Byron with a list of objects which deserved to be included, and that these were in fact incorporated in the poem. The first of these claims appears in a letter of 3 May 1856:

Lord Byron came to Rome on the 29th of April, 1817, and left it on the 20th of May, 1817. Two or three days of this short three weeks' visit were, as you probably are aware, passed in excursions to Albano and Tivoli; but lest you should be surprised at his taking so minute a survey of so many objects in so short a time, you may as well be told that his original sketch of the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold* was much less in detail than the poem as published. He put that sketch into my hands at La Mira, near Venice; and I, at his desire, made a list of certain objects which he had not noticed, and which he afterwards described in several magnificent stanzas.³

The second occurs in the preface to Hobhouse's *Italy*, published in 1859:

When I rejoined Lord Byron at La Mira . . . in the summer of 1817, I found him employed upon the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold', and, later in the autumn, he showed me the first sketch of the poem. It was much shorter than it afterwards became, and it did not remark on several objects which appeared to me peculiarly worthy of notice. I made a list of those objects, and, in conversation with him, gave him reasons for the selection. The result was the poem as it now appears, and he then engaged me to write notes for the whole canto.⁴

In view of the importance of these claims it seems strange that they have not been examined more closely. (They are not even mentioned, for

¹ *PW*, ii. 315.

² Byron, tr. H. Miles (London, 1930), p. 305.

³ Quoted in *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero (London, 1898-1901) [henceforth cited as *LJ*], iv. 122, n. 1. For arguments in support of these dates as opposed to those given by Lady Dorchester, see L. A. Marchand, *Byron: A Biography* (London, 1957), note to p. 690, line 35.

⁴ *Italy: Remarks Made in Several Visits from the Year 1816 to 1854* (London, 1859), i. iv.

example, in E. R. Vincent's *Byron, Hobhouse and Foscolo* (Cambridge, 1949), a study of the 'collaboration' over Canto IV of Byron and Hobhouse on the one hand, Hobhouse and Ugo Foscolo on the other.) In view, too, of the critical generalizations sometimes based on his claims, it is surely worth while trying to determine what part Hobhouse actually played in the composition of this poem. And in fact his contribution seems to have been much less important than has often been assumed, or than he himself thought when he wrote these two accounts—both of which are dated some forty years later than the events which they purport to describe.

I am led to this conclusion by a study of the exact chronology of the events in question. When Byron left Venice for Rome in the spring of 1817 he seems to have had no intention of continuing *Childe Harold*, and although in Rome he was moved to write about the Coliseum, this verse-meditation was embodied (rather incongruously) in *Manfred*,¹ which was then his main poetical concern. Even after his return to Venice he denied that he was thinking of a sequel to the work of 1816: 'You are out about the third Canto', he told Murray on 17 June, 'I have not done, nor designed, a line of continuation to that poem. I was too short a time at Rome for it, and have no thoughts of recommencing.'² Yet the very conjecture he refutes here may have acted as a stimulus, for soon afterwards he started work on Canto IV,³ and finished the first draft, of 126 stanzas, by 19 July 1817.⁴ If Hobhouse had rejoined him at La Mira 'early in July', as E. H. Coleridge and Ethel Colburn Mayne assert,⁵ he might well have advised Byron on the content of this version, but it is clear from his own diary entries, as published in *Recollections of a Long Life*, that he did not reach La Mira until 31 July.⁶ He cannot, therefore, have had any direct influence on the composition of these stanzas, which already contained references to a large number of objects and places of interest.

Thus Hobhouse's letter of 3 May 1856 implies that his list consisted mainly of things in Rome, yet we find that most of Byron's allusions were in fact in the original text: the Scipios' tomb, Tiber, Sulla, Pompey's

¹ *PW*, iv. 131-2.

² *LJ*, iv. 139.

³ *LJ*, iv. 141-4. The beginning of the MS. is dated 26 June 1817.

⁴ This date is recorded at the end of the draft. See also Byron's letter of 20 July: '... I have completed the 4th ... Canto of *Childe Harold*. It consists of 126 stanzas. ...' (*LJ*, iv. 153). An account of this first draft, and of the sixty stanzas subsequently added to it, is given by E. H. Coleridge in *PW*, ii. 316-19. He does not, however, record in his edition all the variant readings to be found in these MSS.; and he makes a curious blunder in including stanza 97 in a group of seven stanzas which he says appear only in MS. *D*, Byron's final fair copy. Stanza 97, in spite of Coleridge's assertion to the contrary, appears in MS. *M*, written on the same page as stanzas 95 and 96, but at right angles to them—and Coleridge himself quotes a variant reading from this version (*PW*, ii. 401).

⁵ *PW*, ii. 314; Byron (2nd edn. London, 1924), p. 301.

⁶ *Recollections of a Long Life*, ii. 74.

statue, the Wolf of the Capitol, Julius Caesar, the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the Palatine, Cicero, the column of Phocas, the column of Trajan, Egeria's grotto, the Coliseum, the Dying Gladiator, the Pantheon, the dungeon associated with the imprisoned father and daughter, St. Peter's, the Vatican, the Laocoön, and the Apollo Belvedere—all these are dealt with in the first draft. If we examine his additions to this part of the poem for topics which may be derived from his friend's list, we find the following: the Domus Aurea (st. 109), Hadrian's Mole (st. 152), the rock of Triumph, the Tarpeian, and the Forum (st. 112-13), the Capitol, Brutus, Livy, and Virgil (st. 80, 82), Numa and Rienzi (st. 114), Nemi and Albano (st. 173-4). Thus the list of which Hobhouse was so proud would seem to have furnished Byron with material for only nine, at most, of the Roman stanzas—and four of these refer to mere schoolboys' commonplaces.

Hobhouse may, of course, have influenced the poem indirectly—indeed he must have done so—by drawing Byron's attention to things of interest in the city during his visit, before there was any question of a further canto; and one should not underestimate the effect of his presence and erudition on Byron's response to Rome and its antiquities.¹ But even at that time Byron was not entirely dependent on his friend's guidance: he must have relied to some extent on his own classical education and miscellaneous reading, and on the guide-book, with which he seems to have been familiar: 'Of Rome I say nothing,' he wrote to Moore during his stay there: 'it is quite indescribable, and the Guide-book is as good as any other. . . . As for the Coliseum, Pantheon, St. Peter's, the Vatican, Palatine, etc., etc.—as I said, *vide* Guide-book.'² I suspect, indeed, that Byron may have refreshed his memory by glancing at the guide-book as he wrote this canto. If so, it may well have influenced the selection and arrangement of material, especially by leading him to include a large number of 'objects'; and it is interesting to note that in his first letter on the Bowles controversy, when arguing for the intrinsically 'poetic' nature of the monuments of Rome, Byron asserts that a poem about the scenery as it was before the city was

¹ Here perhaps one ought to notice a story in Moore's *Memoirs*, which implies that the actual list was drawn up at this period: on 7 May 1829 Lord William Russell mentioned what he had heard of Byron's not feeling any admiration of Rome: saying to Hobhouse "what shall I write about?" and H. giving him the heads of what he afterwards described so powerfully' (*Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. Lord John Russell (London, 1853-6), vi. 27). This is interesting as showing that Hobhouse may have spoken of his influence soon after Byron's death, but the story's value as evidence is negligible: Byron's letters prove that he was impressed by Rome, and that *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, was not considered until after his return to Venice, while Hobhouse, in both his claims, says that the list was drawn up after his rejoining Byron at La Mira. Obviously, therefore, this tale is no more than a garbled rumour.

² *Ly*, iv. 122. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 119; and Lord Lovelace, *Astoria* (revised edn. London, 1921), p. 284.

established would be less poetical than 'the commonest guide-book, which tells you the road from St. Peter's to the Coliseum, and informs you what you will see by the way'.¹

However this may be, there is very little evidence for Hobhouse's direct influence on the Roman stanzas, and still less for his influence on the earlier part of Canto iv, which deals with Venice and the journey from Venice to Rome. Byron's additions to the first draft of this section contain a few historical and literary references—to Dandolo, Doria, Candia, Lepanto, and 'Ariosto's bust' being struck by lightning—which may have been contributed by Hobhouse; but others—like his mention of the tombs of Michelangelo, Alfieri, Galileo, and Machiavelli—are so closely paralleled in letters Byron wrote on the actual journey² that one need hardly postulate an outside influence to explain their inclusion in the poem.

His letters also enable us to refute the suggestion that Hobhouse was responsible for the new interest Byron shows in works of art. His enthusiasm for painting and sculpture was certainly of very recent origin. In 1816 he had been disgusted by the works of Rubens which he saw in the Low Countries, and he then expressed an aristocratic preference for Vandyke, but despising connoisseurship he declared that he knew 'nothing about the matter'.³ In Italy his lack of interest in the arts was shown by his not visiting the gallery in the Manfrini Palace until April 1817, though he had been in Venice since the previous November. When he did go, he gave high praise to a portrait of Ariosto by Titian, and another of 'some learned lady . . . whose name I forget',⁴ but on the whole he was not moved to admiration, or to a high level of aesthetic interest.

What struck me most in the general collection [he wrote on 14 April] was the extreme resemblance of the style of the female faces in the mass of pictures, so many centuries or generations old, to those you see and meet every day amongst the existing Italians. . . .

You must recollect, however, that I know nothing of painting; and that I detest it, unless it reminds me of something I have seen, or think it possible to see, for which [reason] I spit upon and abhor all the Saints and subjects of one half the impostures I see in the churches and palaces; and when in Flanders, I never was so disgusted in my life as with Rubens and his eternal wives and infernal glare of colours, as they appeared to me; and in Spain I did not think much of Murillo and Velasquez. Depend upon it, of all the arts, it is the most artificial and unnatural, and that by which the nonsense of mankind is the most imposed upon. I never yet saw the picture—or the statue—which came within a league of my

¹ *LJ*, v. 548.

² See, for example, *Lord Byron's Correspondence*, ed. John Murray (London, 1922) [henceforth cited as *Corr*], ii. 49.

³ *LJ*, iii. 332.

⁴ *LJ*, iv. 106.

conception or expectation; but I have seen many mountains, and Seas, and Rivers, and views, and two or three women, who went as far beyond it,—besides some horses; and a lion (at Veli Pasha's) in the Morea; and a tiger at supper in Exeter 'Change.¹

By 26 April, however, his attitude had changed, as a result of his brief sojourn in Florence. He wrote to Murray:

At Florence I remained but a day, having a hurry for Rome, to which I am thus far advanced. However, I went to the two galleries, from which one returns drunk with beauty. The Venus is more for admiration than love; but there are sculpture and painting, which for the first time at all gave me an idea of what people mean by their *cant*, and what Mr Braham calls 'entusimusy' [i.e. enthusiasm] about those two most artificial of the arts. What struck me most were, the Mistress of Raphael, a portrait; the mistress of Titian, a portrait; a Venus of Titian in the Medici gallery—the Venus; Canova's Venus also in the other gallery . . .; the Parcae of Michael Angelo, a picture; and the Antinous—the Alexander—and one or two not very decent groupes in marble; the Genius of Death, a sleeping figure, etc. etc.²

Rogers once said very bluntly that 'Byron, like Sir Walter Scott, was without any feeling for the fine arts',³ and it may certainly be doubted whether he ever attained a real appreciation of painting and sculpture. Even in his enthusiasms, for example, he did not lose his habit of seeking for resemblances of living people and acquaintances in the works which he admired: 'What a superb face there is in Guido's Innocents in the Gallery! Not the *shrieking* mother, but the *kneeling* one,—it is the image of Lady Ponsonby. . . .'⁴ 'The Apollo Belvidere is the image of Lady Adelaide Forbes—I think I never saw such a likeness.'⁵ Yet whatever limitations and deficiencies one may detect in Byron's taste, it is clear from his letters that he passed in Florence from contempt for these arts to enthusiasm of a kind—and Hobhouse was not with him at that time. Hobhouse had left Venice early in December, and they did not meet again till Byron's arrival in Rome, so that his friend's instruction and advice can have played no part in converting Byron from the philistinism he had previously affected to the admiration which he now expressed in his letters—and in *Childe Harold*, Canto iv.

Hobhouse, then, was certainly with Byron while the latter was working on the additions to this canto, and no doubt they often discussed the poem as well as the notes that were to accompany it. No doubt, too, Hobhouse

¹ *LJ*, iv. 106-7.

² *LJ*, iv. 112-13.

³ *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers*, ed. A. Dyce (London, 1887), p. 240.

⁴ *Corr*, ii. 49.

⁵ *LJ*, iv. 122.

did present Byron with a list of 'objects', as he claims he did. But it would seem that Byron made comparatively little use of it, and that Hobhouse's part in the composition of Canto IV was very much smaller than he himself imagined, or than later readers have surmised. The selection of topics for poetic treatment was almost entirely Byron's own work, and the subject-matter and main emphases of this poem are the result, not of Hobhouse's influence, but of Byron's own recent experiences and interests, and the nature of the material which Italy provided.

NOTES

A NEW POPE LETTER

A PREVIOUSLY unpublished letter from Pope to William Broome has recently been acquired by the Brotherton Collection at Leeds.¹ It was written during the period of Pope's work on the *Iliad*, with the commentary on which Broome had been asked to help, and is an example of his playful friendly style. The text is transcribed below: the sheet on which it was written is in poor condition, heavily folded and with some portions torn away.

Dear Sir,

I send you this (. . .)² being in an unknown Tongue, may possibly be taken in your Parish for a Mass-book.³ If you have disposed your People to receive it, this is your Time; but I think you are not far enough North to make a shining black Figure at the Head of yr Congregation. I write this on purpose on a Saturday, that it may come to you time enough on Sunday to light your Pipe after Sermon.

Take this Epistle in your hand, & go with it to the principal House of the Parish, I suppose it the Mannour-house of Sturston.⁴ Mrs Marriot⁵ at your approach, will imagine it to be a Brief, and not be at home. However Mrs Elizabeth Marriott may meet you, ask you to sit down, and if you please to drink any thing? You may tell her in the following words—Madam, I have received (. . .)² [o]ur good friend Mr Pope, (If you please, we will drink his Health) He is a sweet natur'd Gentleman, hath a commendable Talent, and is much your Servant. (I know he will be pleas'd that I also drink your Health)—Remembring likewise the good Lady herself your Mother—And so Good Even to you, sweet Mrs Elizabeth.

Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo⁶ (Do not quote this Latin till next Sunday)

I do not find those faults in your Verses which you seem to do yourself. I would not call a certain Person Devilla, but rather Lucifera, which is a prettier Name for a Lady. I will blot out Mrs Ms name to ye Picture, & set instead of it

¹ I am indebted to Mr. D. I. Masson, the Sub-Librarian, for permission to examine, transcribe, and publish the letter; it was a single Pope letter from the collection of C. Wingfield-Stratton, Esq., bought by the Library in 1959. I gratefully acknowledge the advice of Professor John Butt in the preparation of this note.

² A few words are torn away at the end of the line.

³ Whatever the book Pope was sending to Broome, it cannot have been the second volume of Eustathius' *Commentaries* on Homer, since this is mentioned later in the letter as being dispatched by carrier. It was probably some other classical work which would help in the preparation of the notes to the *Iliad*.

⁴ Broome's first parish—in north Suffolk.

⁵ The family were old friends of Pope.

⁶ Horace, *Satires*, 1. i. 27.

that, of some other of my acquaintance. In a word, I will do all I can to prejudice you and yr Poems.

I am fully sensible of ye Care and copiousness of your Ex[tracts] (< . . .) my design (< . . .) the next, beginning at the ninth Book; if they come to me. Ye July next (as I took ye freedom to mention to you before) will not be liable to the like Inconvenience. I am however as much in your debt for these, as if they had arrivd more luckily.

I beg your acceptance of the first Volume of my Homer, which shall be followed with the rest as they are publishd. I also beg yr candid Criticisms both on my Poetry and Prose, which hereafter another Edition may give me the opportunity of improving. I am sensible, all, this had been better, if I had had the advantage of showing you any part of it before, ye Publication. It has many faults which I see tho others do not, & I doubt not many more which others see tho' I do not.

My faithful Service to Mrs Marriot &c. Believe me with all veracity Dr Sir Yours A. (< . . .)²

Eustathius will certainly be at the Saracens head on Mun₁to₁(< . . .)ay₁nday night, so that y(< . . .) and send for it to meet(< . . .)³

I have read Duports Gnomologia HomERICA,⁴ and if you had read it, we should be of ye same opinion concerning it.

For fear the bottom of this letter should be torn in the opening, I repeat that Eustathius will go from London on Munday next by ye Carrier at ye Saracens head. You'l not fail to send to meet it, and give me notice when y^u have receivd it.

Address: For the Revd. Mr Broome | at Sturston, near Diss | By Diss Bag in | Norfolk.

Postmark: 5 NO

The letter can clearly be placed within the period during which Pope was at work on Homer, and a more definite dating is given by the mention of 'the first Volume of my Homer'. This obviously refers to the *Iliad*, the first volume of which was published on 6 June 1715. Furthermore, if Pope is being literal rather than jocular and is really writing on a Saturday, then the year in which Saturday fell on 5 November was 1715. Also, the references in the opening paragraph to the 'Mass-book' and to Broome's parish not being 'far enough North' gain in point if they were written in November 1715, the month in which the battles of the Jacobite rising were fought.

Broome seems to have been introduced to Pope while still at Cambridge, in or about the year 1712, when some of his poems were first published in

¹ Two slightly larger gaps.

² The rest of the signature has been torn away, and a later hand has inserted a piece of paper to fill the gap, on which is written 'Pope'.

³ This section is very much torn and altered. 'Mun', 'nday', 'for it' have been crossed through. The remaining paragraphs are added along the side of the sheet.

⁴ J. Duport, *Homeri gnomologia duplici parallelismo illustrata* . . . (Cambridge, 1660).

Lintot's *Miscellany*, a production with which Pope was closely associated. Broome had a mild reputation as a classical scholar; Pope already had quite a considerable one as a poet, and saw possibilities in this variety of talent. Indeed the combination was so suspiciously convenient that it was later made the basis of the accusation that Broome had translated the *Odyssey* and Pope had then put it into verse. Broome's work on the *Iliad* began in 1714, and continued, with intermissions, until the publication of the final volume in 1720. It consisted of going through the *Commentaries* of Eustathius and translating all the notes which were critical, a laborious process because the Greek is both voluminous and difficult. The work involved the sending to Broome of a valuable copy of the *Commentaries*; from a letter warning him of the dispatch of the first volume, we know that it was 'of considerable value, being the best Roman edition, and more as belonging to my Lord Halifax'.¹ Hence all the precautions that were to be taken to meet it. A letter of 16 June 1715 indicates that work on this volume was complete, and has a mention of Pope's proposed gift: 'I have ordered Lintot, as soon as he receives the first volume of Eustathius, to send you back by the next return of the same carrier the first volume of my translation, which I desire you to accept.'² The new letter, dated in November, fits neatly into the pattern with its thanks for 'ye Care and copiousness of your Ex[tracts]' and its confirmation that Homer is being sent, together with the next volume of Eustathius. The letter which seems to follow the new one—dated 6 December 1715—again thanks Broome for his extracts, and also mentions verses by him and a friend, sent to Pope for approval. He says he will take the latter to Lintot, and 'take what liberties you allow me with yours'; but adds that Lintot's *Miscellany* 'will scarce be put in hand these two months'.³ In fact it did not appear until 1717, but it certainly contained, among other works, six poems by Broome. (One is printed anonymously.)

One of these must be referred to in the new letter when Pope says that he will 'blot out Mrs Ms name to ye Picture', for the volume contains a poem by Broome entitled *On a Lady's Picture*. Rather dubious, or at least odd, was Broome's conduct in publishing the same lines in his collected works in 1727 as addressed to Lady Cornwallis. There exists another poem, first published in the second edition of the collected poems in 1739, called *To Mrs. Eliz. M—t, on her Picture, 1716*. From the new letter we can see that the first poem was addressed to the mother, the second to the daughter. It seems strange that a complimentary work to one of Broome's nearest neighbours should have been withheld from publication for twenty-three years: perhaps the modesty of the subject was the cause.

¹ *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), i. 270.

² *Ibid.* i. 297.

³ *Ibid.* i. 321.

A more puzzling and intriguing point arises from the mention by Pope of a character 'Devilla' in one of Broome's poems. None of the works in the 1717 Miscellany, or in any other of his published poems, includes this name. It does, however, appear in the 1726 edition of Young's *Satires*,¹ in lines which are almost identical with those making up the anonymous poem by Broome in the 1717 volume. It is clear that this poem is Broome's: it is reprinted in both editions of his works published during his lifetime. It has four lines, and he calls it *On a Mischievous Woman*. In 1717 it runs thus:

From peace and softer joys Medusa flies,
And loves to hear the storm of anger rise!
Thus hags and witches hate the smiles of day,
Sport in loud thunder, and in tempests play.

In the volume of Young's *Satires*, the lines appear at the beginning of a longer poem, and very slightly altered:

From Peace and gentler joys Devilla flies,
And loves to hear the Storms of Anger rise.
Thus Hags and Witches hate the smiling Day,
Sport in loud Thunder, and in Tempests play.
Her Commendations praise you into Shame,
And from her Mouth Disparagement is Fame.
Dissatisfy'd, if pleas'd, she feeds on Wrong,
And gathering Scandal grows upon her Tongue.
Thus Froth and baneful Weeds, and floating Straws,
Whilst the pure Stream glides on, the Whirlpool draws.
In Beauty she Deformity can spy,
And turns all yellow with her Jaundic'd Eye.
To scandalize is Musick to her Ear,
But odious, generous Deeds, 'tis Death to hear.
Thus the vile Magot in Corruption breeds,
Battens in filth, and upon Ordure feeds.
O may she still persist to curse my Name,
Still discommend, and rail me into Fame!
So Phoebus, thro' the Zodiac takes his way,
And amidst Monsters rises into Day.

In addition to the first four lines, the two last also come from Broome; they are included in his poem to Fenton, and were held up to ridicule by Pope in the *Bathos*.² If the whole poem is by him, it was never reprinted

¹ *The Universal Passion*, satires 1-6 (London, 1726).

² *Peri Bathos*, chap. vii, immediately after lines by Broome on 'a Beautiful Infant'. Although Pope says that the Phoebus lines are by 'another Author', it is clear from Broome's collected poems, and his impassioned arguments in letters of protest to Pope and Fenton in 1730 and 1728, that they were by him.

in any edition of his works; but then it was never reprinted in any edition of Young, either. It appears only in the first printing of *Satire 6 (On Women)* in a volume containing the previous satires, and it is printed on the verso of the final leaf. This might imply that it had slipped in at the end of the book, the printer having made an understandable mistake; the sixth satire and this poem are on the same subject, and in much the same style. It is difficult to imagine Young as such a blatant plagiarist, and I do not think that the lines can be by him. From the point of view of style, it seems obvious that they were not written by Broome: a close examination of his works will reveal nothing like them. They are more reminiscent of the style of Pope; the antitheses of 'rail me into Fame' and 'Her Commendations praise you into Shame'; the Sporus-like lines on the maggot, and the general vivid nature of the whole. It is, perhaps, being wise after the event to express the opinion that the middle passage of the poem is better than the lines published as Broome's—but there does seem to be a difference in quality. It seems possible that Pope took over the lines by Broome and polished them, as we know he was in the habit of doing,¹ and that for some reason Broome never published the whole work. He was in the habit of using old lines again in new poems, and may have abandoned the longer poem for the sake of the two fragments. But we do not know enough of the relations between Pope, Broome, and Young to discover why the work appeared in Young's satires. 'Devilla' remains a mystery.

ELIZABETH ARLIDGE

CHRISTOPHER SMART'S FIRST PUBLICATION IN ENGLISH

ROBERT E. BRITAIN'S useful analysis of Smart's poetry in the magazines of his time² can now be added to. As later condensed by himself, his findings were: (i) Smart's 'Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day', which is appended to a second edition of his Latin translation of Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day' at Cambridge in the summer of 1746, 'was apparently his first publication in English'; (ii) a portion of this 'Ode' in Dodsley's *Museum*, 13 September 1746, 'was the first appearance of any of Smart's verse in a magazine, and apparently his first recognition outside the university'.³ Dodsley printed four more poems by Smart in the following

¹ Lintot's 1712 *Miscellany* contains Broome's poem of thanks to 'a Gentleman who corrected some verses for me' which is found in later reprints addressed to Pope; and letters between the two show that Pope continued to do this for many years.

² 'Christopher Smart in the Magazines', *The Library*, 4th ser. xxi (1940-1), 320-36.

³ *The Poems of Christopher Smart* (Princeton, 1950), p. 13.

twelve months, and, according to E. G. Ainsworth and C. E. Noyes, it was not until 1748 that 'Smart began to appear in contemporary periodicals other than Dodsley's. The January issue of the *London Magazine* in that year contains a musical setting for his ode, *Idleness*. . . .'¹

Smart's 'To Idleness', with the same setting by William Boyce, had, however, already appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1745 (pp. 268-9). It therefore qualifies by more than a year over the 'Ode for Music' as his first publication in English, and by some fifteen months as his first appearance in any magazine.

To Mr. Brittain's original tabulation of Smart's contributions to the periodicals must also be added two poems which have previously been thought to have remained unpublished in his lifetime. Both Messrs. Ainsworth and Noyes, who describe the poem as 'unprinted' (pp. 24-25), and Mr. Norman Callan² reproduce Smart's humorous verses 'To Lyce' from a manuscript in Pembroke Hall Library. A greatly superior text of the poem is to be found in the *London Magazine* for September 1750 (pp. 421-2), where it is entitled '*Audivere, Lyce*, Hor. Lib. IV. Od. 13'.

Messrs. Ainsworth and Noyes (p. 25) and Mr. Callan (p. 27) print Smart's epigram 'On a Dull Malignant Poet' from George Dyer's *Privileges of the University of Cambridge* (1824), ii. 55. Although Mr. Brittain indicates no earlier source in the periodicals, the poem actually appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1756 (p. 304) as 'To the Author of Some Defamatory Verses against a worthy Gentleman'. Six lines, however, are added to the four which have hitherto passed as the whole epigram, which may now be quoted in its entirety:

When the viper has vented its venom, 'tis said,
That the fat heals the wound which the poison has made.
Thus fares it with blockheads whenever they write,
Their dullness an antidote proves to their spight.
But had sense and keen satire attended the strain,
That sense and keen satire had still been in vain;
For ill-manag'd wit, like a suicide's sword,
Turns its virulent point on the heart of its lord.
And since *Charles* leads a life undeserving of blame,
Detraction is only a foil to his fame.

Smart's friends do not appear to include a 'Charles' who can readily be identified as the 'worthy Gentleman' defended in the poem.

Four minor additions to Mr. Brittain's list can also be made. Smart's 'Prologue to "A Trip to Cambridge", or "The Grateful Fair"', which Mr. Brittain traced to the *Cambridge Journal* for 19 September 1747, had

¹ Christopher Smart. *A Biographical and Critical Study* (Univ. of Missouri, 1943), p. 34.

² *The Collected Poems of Christopher Smart* (London, 1949), pp. 87-88.

already appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the preceding month (p. 391), where it is entitled 'Prologue to a Comedy call'd the Grateful Fair, acted last Winter by some Gentlemen at Cambridge', and signed 'Academicus'. 'Chaucer's "Recantation"', printed in the *Student* in June 1750, also appeared in the *London Magazine* in the following August (p. 376). (Mr. Callan has printed this text, p. 108.) Two stanzas of Smart's 'Solemn Dirge' on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, which was printed separately in 1751, are quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1751 (p. 190). Finally, the 'Epithalamium on a late Happy Marriage', for which Mr. Brittain indicates no other periodical publication than in the *Midwife* of January 1752, appeared in the *London Magazine* in the same month (p. 40).¹

ROGER LONSDALE

A LETTER OF SIR WALTER SCOTT TO WILLIAM SCOTT ON THE JEFFREY-SWIFT CONTROVERSY

AN uncollected (and apparently unpublished) letter written by Sir Walter Scott in 1820 and now in the possession of the National Library of Scotland provides an interesting and informative footnote to the controversy prompted by the *Memoirs* in Scott's edition of Swift's *Works* (Edinburgh, 1814, vol. i). It is well known that the biography provoked a violent attack by Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* on the character of Swift, apropos of what he termed Scott's 'favourable' account of it.² Jeffrey's main thesis was that Swift in his public career and in his private relations with various individuals, especially women, acted wholly from motives of 'personal ambition and personal animosity', which were exhibited most flagrantly in his ingratitude and disloyalty to persons to whom he was obliged for favours. Jeffrey sought to prove his contention mainly by a lengthy discussion of Swift's change of allegiance from Whig to Tory, which he pictured as an abrupt and disgusting repudiation of principles that was dictated by a desire for personal advancement (pp. 10-22). Then he touched briefly on the Dean's 'Irish politics', which he attributed to a desire to 'vex and annoy the English ministry' as evidenced by Swift's completely ignoring the miserable plight of the Catholics in Ireland (pp. 22-23), and dealt at slightly greater length with Swift's private life, concentrating

¹ Although there is no other evidence for an attribution to Smart than the initials, it may be worth noting four poems which are signed 'C. S.' in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1745 (p. 271) and in the *London Magazine* for June 1746 (p. 312), August 1746 (pp. 420-1), and September 1746 (p. 475).

² xxvii (September 1816), 1-58.

on his 'unpardonable' behaviour to his female friends (pp. 23-42). To the writings he devoted the last 14 pages of the 58-page article, arguing that their distinguishing characteristic was 'the vehemence of the invective in which they abound'.¹

This review provoked the anonymous *A Defence of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; in Answer to Certain Observations Passed on his Life and Writings, in the Fifty-Third Number of the Edinburgh Review* (London, 1819), a pamphlet usually attributed to Edward Berwick.² This rather rambling essay consisted largely of quotations from the writings of Swift and his contemporaries—Whig and Tory, English and Irish—designed to refute the implication of general brutality and insolence in his private life (pp. 1-37). The author did note that Swift fought for *all* the Irish people (and would not have dared to single out the Catholics for special defence) because all the Irish population was oppressed, and he quoted Irish leaders, among others, in praise of Swift (pp. 37-44). But against the sweeping charges of self-interest and political apostasy made by Jeffrey, he offered only a few paragraphs of ineffectual, indirect comment (pp. 44-47). The most substantial reply appeared in the *Edinburgh Monthly Review* for July 1820.³ Nominally a review of the *Defence*, it was actually an answer to Jeffrey which dealt almost exclusively with two of the three chief points of his attack—Swift's shift of political allegiance and his Irish activities—in the same order and with the same proportionate amount of attention as Jeffrey had devoted to them. After characterizing the *Defence* as 'feeble' but approving its general vindication of Swift's character in his private relations with people, this article alluded to the pamphlet only occasionally. Instead, the writer devoted his efforts mainly to demonstrating—by means of a detailed examination of Swift's writings from the 1690's to 1710 (writings ignored by Jeffrey) and a detailed commentary on actions of Whig and Tory—that Swift's adherence to a consistent set of principles, in which maintaining and strengthening the Established Church was paramount, was as much responsible for his shift of allegiance as was a desire for preferment, and probably more so (pp. 1-33). In doing this, he denied Jeffrey's assertion that Swift never expressed disapproval of Whig actions, citing passages from the writings to back his contention, and attacked Jeffrey for making erroneous statements and for using partial

¹ Donald Berwick, *The Reputation of Jonathan Swift, 1781-1882* (Philadelphia, 1941), briefly evaluates Scott's edition, particularly the *Memoirs*, and Jeffrey's article, and considers their responsibility for subsequent nineteenth-century commentaries (pp. 51-53); Berwick's assessment of Scott's responsibility for the later conception of Swift as a paradox and monster seems to me somewhat unjust.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 58 and 163. See also R. Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* (New York and London, 1953), p. 370.

³ *iv.* 1-37.

quotations to create a false impression, especially in the account of Swift's relations with Whig leaders and with Harley and Bolingbroke. In less detail he suggested that the evidence of the writings and the testimony of others showed that Swift's object in his Irish activities was 'exposure of abuses and a resistance to the oppression practised on that unhappy country'; and he pointed out that Jeffrey's criticism of Swift's 'neglect' of the Catholic cause was absurd because at that period 'the claims of the Catholics as Catholics were not dreamt of' (pp. 33-34). Finally, he turned to a specific case which Jeffrey had cited as an example of Swift's readiness to prostitute himself for preferment. According to Jeffrey, Scott had admitted that Swift was willing to make peace with Walpole even during the reign of George I and at the same time had discredited the details 'which Lord Chesterfield and others have given, apparently from very direct authority, of the humiliating terms upon which he was willing to accede to the alliance' (p. 23). The author of the *E.M.R.* article pointed out that Scott had admitted no such thing but had, on the contrary, 'indignantly' refuted this implication and had cited evidence to disprove it, and he quoted from a letter to Lord Peterborough to which Scott had alluded (pp. 35-36).¹

Scott was sent a copy of this article or had it brought to his attention by the author, and responded in the following letter, dated 10 August and postmarked 11 August 1820—the month after the *E.M.R.* article was published.²

Dear Sir:

I have at length received and read with pleasure your very able defence of Swift against the violent and unmerited attack of the Edinburgh Review which written in the worst spirit of party spared neither the acknowledged virtues or distinguished talents of that great writer because his was a great name on the opposite side of politics. His secession from the Whig party was a crime neither to be forgotten or forgiven yet they would be very angry were one to call Fox a turncoat or renegade because he changed the Tory principles on which he was educated and professing which with no ordinary keenness [was cancelled] he held a share in his uncles administration I own that in a country like ours where two great parties are as necessary to the steadiness of the constitution as the stays to the mast of a ship I cannot look upon a change of political conviction as so heinous and inexpiable a crime. Swift no doubt felt himself ill-used and neglected by those Whig patrons who had been attracted by his display of his abilities whom he had certainly served and by whom he had been promised preferment But to deny him on that account the credit of being actuated by any other motives than those of a personal nature is an unwarrantable want of candour. As to the imputations concerning

¹ See sect. vi of the *Memoirs*.

² This letter is reproduced here by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

Walpole you have distinctly shown them to be the grave dicta of the critic. Swift had unquestionably faults of temper mixed with his great talents and from an early period displayed some of that oddity which finally terminated in mental disorder. But I think you have done good service to English literature in the able manner in which you have shown how industriously [the] reviewer has extracted everything that could be termed blameworthy in his character and by the assistance of much exaggeration has formed a lacquer with which to blacken the whole.

Nothing can be more completely absurd than to reproach Swift with neglecting the Catholic interest in Ireland. To have constituted himself a champion for an interest against which all Parties were at the time united would have been at once exposing himself to the charge of Jacobitism and popery—the idea of relieving the Catholics *as such* no more entered or could enter the head of a philanthropist of that time that it would have occurred to Marcus Antoninus to abolish slavery. The best thing the Catholics of that time had to expect was forbearance and to share unnoticed and unnamed the advantages which Swift was desirous to secure for Irishmen in general.

I could be very prolix on this subject but I should return many of the feelings and arguments which you have expressed so well I am much obliged to you for pointing out the article to my attention and have to wish you joy of turning your attention to literary composition. It forms the best as well as most respectable amusement both in youth and age and with talents of sound principle such as you display in that article cannot but render its possessor respected as well as happy. I am always Dear Sir

Very much your most obedt Servt

Abbotsford 10 August

WALTER SCOTT

That this letter refers to the article in the *E.M.R.* seems clear.¹ It considers the two chief topics discussed in the article—Jeffrey's attack on Swift's change of party and on his neglect of Irish Catholics; the comments on Swift's 'neglect' of the Catholics elaborate on the particular defence offered in the article; and finally Scott refers specifically to Jeffrey's 'imputations concerning Walpole' and the author's having exposed their falsity. Another interesting point about the letter, besides its reiteration of the temperate view towards the change of party allegiance that had been set forth in the *Memoirs*, is that it ignores comment on Swift's relations with women, as the writer in the *E.M.R.* had done; although he endeavoured to be fair, Scott acknowledged in the *Memoirs* that this aspect of Swift's biography was painful to consider, a fact that is evident in his treatment of this subject.²

The person to whom this letter was addressed, and thus the author of the

¹ Dr. James C. Corson, who kindly consulted his own index of Walter Scott materials to advise me whether it probably had been published, concurs in this conclusion.

² Swift's views before and after his change of party allegiance are discussed in sects. ii and iii; the Val. -ssa-Stella relationships in sect. v.

article, was William Scott, Northumberland Street, Edinburgh. He has been identified by Mr. James Ritchie of the National Library of Scotland as the William Scott of Teviotbank (1782-1841) who as a writer to the signet maintained a town house at 43 Northumberland Street in Edinburgh and who was the only son of John Scott of Glenormiston, Peeblesshire.¹ Through descent from John Scott, first laird of Wool and younger brother of Walter Scott's great-great-grandfather (Walter Scott of Raeburn), he was thus a distant cousin of Sir Walter, as Dr. Corson has pointed out to me. The concern with literary composition mentioned in this letter was to take an unexpected direction a few years later, one which Sir Walter was unlikely to appreciate. William Scott, having been converted to phrenology and having joined the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh on 28 November 1822,² contributed to the first five volumes of its *Journal* (1823-9) several articles attempting to apply phrenological principles to the analysis of literary works. These included discussions of *Macbeth* (i. 92-115; ii. 626-41), *Hamlet* (v. 516-39), Susan Ferrier's *The Inheritance* (ii. 55-70), and 'Louis XI and Charles the Bold as Delineated in *Quentin Durward*' (i. 176-95);³ this last-named commentary ended by expressing regret that an author whose observations of character were so often true to nature, even if his explanations of it were not (because not phrenological), would descend in his novels to casting ridicule on phrenology and phrenologists.

W. U. McDONALD, JR.

¹ *The Edinburgh Directory for 1820 and the History of the Society of Writers* (Edinburgh, 1936) both cite the date of his death, 18 August 1841, and his membership of the Society of Writers to the Signet.

² *Phrenological Journal and Miscellany*, iii (1825-6), 479. That this is the same man is clear from the obituary notice, *ibid.* xiv (1841), 388, which identifies the phrenologist as William Scott, W. S., of Teviotbank and gives the same date of death as in the preceding note. It also agrees with obituary notices in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* (24 August 1841) and *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (21 August 1841) on these details, his place of death (seat in Roxburghshire), and his membership of the Town Council of the City of Edinburgh for the Fifth Ward. The *Journal* and the *Advertiser* also list his authorship of *The Harmony of Phrenology with Scripture* (Edinburgh, 1836), known to have been written by the phrenologist.

³ All are included in a list of Scott's contributions, *Phren. Jour.*, xv (1842), 48-49. The *Hamlet* essay is attributed on the title-page (v (1828-9), 516) and his reading of it mentioned in the Proceedings of the Society (*ibid.*, p. 631). Authorship of the *Macbeth* articles is implied also in the Proceedings (*Journal*, ii (1824-5), 487).

REVIEWS

Doctrine and Poetry. Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry. By BERNARD F. HUPPÉ. Pp. viii + 248. New York: State University, 1959. \$6.00.

It is not easy to discern for whom precisely this book is written: in his stimulating analysis of *Genesis A* in Chapter vi Professor Huppé presupposes a close first-hand knowledge of the poem; while in the earlier chapters—in spite of the well-known work of Rand, Curtius, Highet, Laistner, Levison, Cochrane, Southern, Bolgar, and the superb *haute vulgarisation* of Helen Waddell and Eleanor Shipley Duckett—he seems to presuppose no knowledge whatever of the origin and development of Christian rhetoric.

The author states his purpose clearly in the Preface: 'Saint Augustine formulates a Christian theory of literature in the *De doctrina Christiana*, a work which provides, according to H.-I. Marrou, the basic program for a Christian culture. This program found widespread approval in early medieval theory—so this book will argue—and had positive influence upon the early practice of poetry in the vernacular, specifically Old English.' The exposition of 'Augustinian literary theory' in Chapter I relies heavily on Marrou's *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1958); and Mr. Huppé contrives to present a specifically 'Augustinian' theory only by greatly simplifying St. Augustine's teaching and by ignoring completely the perspective within which M. Marrou is careful to set St. Augustine's point of view. The use of rhetorical disciplines in Christian teaching and in the interpretation of the Bible antedated St. Augustine.¹ In making the Bible the centre of Christian education, St. Augustine is at one with the main body of the Fathers, both of East and West.² The Bible, in his time, had already become the model for the Christian *rhetor*: 'Bien avant que saint Augustin ait dégagé dans le *de Doctrina christiana* les raisons de considérer la Bible comme un modèle d'éloquence, les écrivains chrétiens ont traité celle-ci comme un classique, émaillant leur style d'images, d'adaptations, de citations à elle empruntées.'³ And the conception of poetry as 'l'art "de cacher la vérité sous le beau voile des symboles"' was, as M. Marrou shows, the common aesthetic doctrine of the period of Roman decadence, though founded on tendencies always present in Graeco-Roman rhetorical teaching: 'Cette façon de voir . . . se trouvait d'autre part déjà très profondément enracinée dans la tradition antique; si saint Augustin et avec lui, tant d'autres parmi les Pères, si les lettrés de son temps ont trouvé tant de bonheur à ce jeu singulier, c'est qu'il leur permettait de retrouver dans la Bible ce qu'ils avaient l'habitude de rechercher chez les classiques, ce qui faisait le plus haut prix de leur commerce avec Homère ou Virgile' (pp. 494-5). Thus M. Marrou is able to conclude his study by noting that 'la culture de saint Augustin reste bien antique et par ses matériaux et par ses méthodes . . .' (p. 543).

¹ See the excellent commentary on the *de Doctrina* by Combès and Farges (Paris, 1949), pp. 547 ff.

² Marrou, pp. 493, 494, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

M. Marrou himself does not sufficiently distinguish the symbolic interpretations given by the Fathers in general to some outstanding figures and events of the Old Testament—interpretations indicated by Christ Himself, which link the two Testaments, making one a prophecy and prefiguring of the other—from more unusual and more fanciful allegorical interpretations of Scripture of which St. Augustine was such an adept, following the Alexandrine School.¹ M. Marrou does indicate St. Augustine's clear understanding of the dominant importance of the literal sense: 'Et sans doute saint Augustin, comme toute l'orthodoxie occidentale, a retenu de l'enseignement de l'école d'Antioche l'importance qu'il faut attacher au sens littéral; il a le souci de ne pas le sacrifier à la légèreté; il proclame bien haut la nécessité, non seulement de le sauvegarder, mais encore de l'établir, de le considérer avec soin en premier lieu . . .' (pp. 492-3). Nevertheless, in him, the two tendencies met; and M. Marrou notes that all historians of his thought have remarked how much St. Augustine liked to 'play' with spiritual senses, with allegory—as do so many of the Fathers.² The great types distinguished in the Old Testament, however, were firmly established in patristic writing at the end of the fifth century, even though the tension between the Alexandrian and Antiochean influences was as yet unresolved. It would seem that apart from those types—Adam, Noah, Isaac, the Exodus, and others—the exegesis of the ages of Bede, Aldhelm, Alcuin, and Ælfric concentrated on the literal meaning, though Bede already distinguishes the 'four senses' of Scripture; it was not until later, in the age of the Victorines, that the mystical, symbolic interpretation became uppermost.

Mr. Huppé, though he refers to Laistner's admirable general survey of the period,³ and to Canon de Bruyne's detailed study of the development of Christian rhetoric,⁴ gives no hint that he is aware of the complexity of the subject he is treating; and in his second chapter, concerned with 'the continuing influence' of the theory presumed to have been formulated in the *de Doctrina*, he presents a grossly over-simplified view, which does very much less than justice to the originality of Isidore and Bede, and which ignores altogether the other two founders of medieval rhetoric, Boethius and Cassiodorus.⁵ A comparison of Mr. Huppé's *simpliste* treatment of Bede's *de schematibus et tropis Sanctae Scripturae* with Canon de Bruyne's careful and scientific analysis of the book⁶ will show how elementary is Mr. Huppé's account and how completely divorced from the perspective of the time. The same may be said of his treatment of Alcuin; and of his discussion of Aldhelm in the following chapter. In Chapter III, Mr. Huppé discusses Aldhelm and Bede without sufficient attention to the very different rhetorical traditions which each had assimilated.⁷ In his preoccupation

¹ See J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri: Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris, 1959).

² See P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris, 1947), ii. 408 ff.

³ *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900* (London, 1931).

⁴ *Études d'esthétique médiévale* (Brussels, 1946).

⁵ 'Almost everything that is common to the Middle Ages, and much that lasts beyond the Renaissance, is to be found in the authors of the sixth century': W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1904), pp. 101 ff.

⁶ *Études*, i. 149-61.

⁷ See de Bruyne, i. 141-6.

with St. Augustine, Mr. Huppé overlooks the part played by the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon writers—in Latin and in the vernacular—in the development of medieval rhetorical theory, and 'the utmost importance to the European tradition' of the period from Theodosius to Charlemagne, so clearly demonstrated by Curtius.

It is when Mr. Huppé turns to analysis of Old English poems that his work becomes of interest to serious students of Old English literature. There is much repetition and over-stressing of the obvious in Chapter IV, where he discusses the rhetorical structure of *Cædmon's Hymn*; and one is aware here of an ambivalent attitude towards his material which Mr. Huppé displays more than once in his book. We are told that 'Although Bede would have distinguished degrees of veneration to be accorded the word of God as reported by Moses and a divinely inspired poem, he would have expected each, in its degree, to contain some revelation and therefore to be worthy of the closest study' (p. 105); yet, later: 'Bede's "appreciation" of the *Hymn* would in turn have derived from a method of reading it similar to that which led to his appreciation of the biblical verses on the creation, except that in the *Hymn* he would seek not original revelation, but simply reaffirmation of biblical truths' (p. 107). It is clear that for Bede the miracle consisted in *Cædmon's* being able to compose verses, though an unlettered man; it is not at all clear that Bede thought these 'divinely inspired'. Mr. Huppé finds the principles of structure in the *Hymn* to be an invocation of the mystery of the Trinity in the work of Creation in the opening lines; and a reference to the work of the three Persons reflected in the tripartite structure of the poem. Bede did indeed understand the opening lines as a Trinitarian invocation, as we see from his Latin paraphrase, where he takes *Metud* as referring to the Holy Spirit; and this forms a better Trinitarian invocation than Mr. Huppé observes. The tripartite structure, however, largely depends upon taking *tiada* (*tida*, which is untranslatable, in the West Saxon version which Mr. Huppé quotes) as 'adorned' or 'beautified'—a meaning which would be difficult to defend. That the short poem is rhetorical in structure is no real reason for dragging in St. Augustine, but he appears constantly in the course of this chapter.

Mr. Huppé's analysis of *Genesis A* in Chapter V is a great deal more convincing and—if one may say so—more seriously pursued. Not all readers will find that Mr. Huppé has proved beyond doubt the symbolic character of parts of this poem and its unity; but his discussion of the additions to the Biblical text is always interesting, and his analysis of the rhetorical structure of lines 116–25, 948–64, and others is useful and sound. It is certainly tempting to see in lines 969–71 a reference to the patristic allegorical interpretation of the work of Cain and Abel: *wist*, however, can hardly be translated as 'spiritual sustenance' (in l. 388 of the *Andreas*, which Mr. Huppé quotes as his authority, the temporary figurative significance is clearly indicated), and Bosworth's translation of the lines seems the only possible one: 'Cain and Abel, the original labourers, acquired goods, wealth and food.' More interesting still are Mr. Huppé's suggestions for the interpretation of *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan* in Chapter VI: his idea that the theme of the last is 'The Might of God' ('which ought to be its title') and that this gives the poem firm structural unity is most convincingly argued. And

one notes that here St. Augustine makes fewer gratuitous appearances than in any of the previous chapters: a situation heralded at the end of Chapter v, when the 'Augustinian-Cædmonian tradition' had become 'the Christian theory of literature'.

Mr. Huppé has shown in a striking way in this book the need felt by many students of Old English literature at the present time to move away altogether from the standard interpretations suggested in earlier years by philologists whose magistral linguistic experience was not always balanced by a flair for literary criticism and a knowledge of Christian rhetorical teaching. Christian rhetoric during the fifth to the ninth centuries was not absolutely tied to allegorical or symbolical expression in poetry, as Mr. Huppé seems to suggest. Its roots in Cicero and Quintilian, its concern with rhetorical rather than allegorical structure (*ordo, dispositio*), and the variety of approaches to literary practice within the tradition are fully illustrated in Volume I of Canon de Bruyne's monumental *Études*. A further fact which Mr. Huppé overlooks is the endeavour, in Biblical paraphrase, to present Christian teaching in a manner acceptable and intelligible to the people: the almost complete 'Germanization' of *Judith* (cf. the Old Saxon *Heliand*) is a process also to be discerned, though perhaps not exercised in such a thorough-going fashion, in the poems of the Junius MS. In *Beowulf*, in *Maldon*, in the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*, as well as in *The Dream of the Rood*, the Germanic heroic tradition, the Christian religion, and the rhetorical training converge. Mr. Huppé's remarks on these poems in his final chapter—particularly valuable on *Maldon*—disclose a tendency towards another extreme: to take too little account of the rhetorical handling of Germanic heroic material in a Christian context.

T. P. DUNNING, C.M.

English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest. (The Lyell Lectures 1952-3.) By N. R. KER. Pp. xiv+68+29 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 63s. net.

In this handsome volume Mr. Ker's Lyell Lectures are illustrated by a series of plates which form a small palaeographical anthology of remarkable beauty. Mr. Ker's subject is the book-hand of the chosen period, and the growth of the charter-hand is excluded from consideration. His broadest conclusions are: (1) The OE. variety of Caroline book-hand survived the Conquest. (2) 'So far as we can now judge, Norman script was an important influence only at Durham, the two great Canterbury houses, and Rochester' (p. 32), and of these Christ Church developed its own variety of the Norman script which spread to St. Augustine's and Rochester (p. 26). (3) In the second quarter of the twelfth century 'a monumental set type of script was widely used, with local and individual variations of little importance, but sufficient perhaps sometimes to distinguish the products of one scriptorium from those of another' (pp. 34-35). By implication, but not, I think, by direct statement, this script is taken to be of English descent.¹ It is traced to the point where 'biting' or coalescence of strokes,

¹ To judge from a hasty reference on p. 35, footnote 1, evidence may yet be forthcoming that this hand was of earlier development than has up to now appeared.

so characteristic of its development in the next century, begins to appear (c. 1180). (4) The English hand competes with and mixes with the charter-hand in diplomata. The Norman hand does not appear in these. The increasing angularity of the book-hand in the later twelfth century does not appear in diplomata, for in these the use of book-hand was by then limited to old-fashioned scribes.

The above summary no doubt over-simplifies Mr. Ker's views, but is probably what most readers would gather. The impression is perhaps too much left that there was in the late eleventh century a native Caroline hand and a foreign or Norman hand. This native hand, however, had close relations among continental hands, as Mr. Ker indeed points out by stressing the similarity of the hands of the *Peterborough Chronicle* and of one of the continental tituli of the *Rouleau Mortuaire* (p. 34). The close relationship of English and continental hands of the mid-twelfth century is also obscured. Mr. Ker has perhaps rightly assumed that his readers need no reminder of these matters.

The excellence of the material with which Mr. Ker surrounds his main theme is worthy of his exact scholarship and first-hand approach. It covers many fields, criteria for dating, methods of scribes, &c. The book will be invaluable to any historian of culture who attempts to appraise anew the gain and loss of the Norman Conquest. In the art of writing there was continuity, and this is well illustrated by Mr. Ker. But this continuity was possible only because Anglo-Saxon England was no backwater, but was already well in step with the Continent. Even if the Anglo-Irish insular script had remained universally used in Anglo-Saxon England, it is doubtful if it could have survived the Conquest.

A. CAMPBELL

The Parlement of Foulys. Edited by D. S. BREWER. Pp. viii+168 (Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library). London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960. 12s. 6d. net.

The Parlement of Foulys is the first of Chaucer's poems to appear in the Medieval and Renaissance Library (*The Hous of Fame* is promised later); and its editor, unlike some of his more fortunate colleagues, has had to fight for his place in the sun; for the editions of Skeat, Koch, and Robinson, Dr. Bennett's recent book, and a large number of periodical articles, together give him formidable competition. However, since these works are not in fact 'together' anywhere but in the minds of the very learned, Dr. Brewer's book would be welcome for its value as a compilation alone; and inevitably it is, to some extent, a compilation, though certainly not an indiscriminate one, for Dr. Brewer keeps his purpose firmly in mind—his is a 'literary' edition, for the 'modern reader of poetry'. So, he leaves aside the question of personal reference in his poem as a 'pseudo-problem', and (with less justification, I think) makes little of any specific social reference in the orders of birds. (His remarks here on medieval ideas of class-division are unsatisfactory; see S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, chap. vii). His interests broadly coincide with those of Bennett, in fact:

he sees the *Parlement* as a philosophical rather than an occasional poem, and gives accordingly full weight to the *Somnium Scipionis* (of which there is a complete translation in one of the useful appendixes), to Venus, and, above all, to Nature. Like Bennett, too, he emphasizes, both in his long introduction and in his notes, the elaborate literary background of the poem, though he differs from Bennett in placing distinctly more emphasis on the *Roman de la Rose* and rather less on Dante (though he finds one thing in Dante which is not in fact there—Virgil pushing Dante through the gate of Hell). His discussion of French love-vision poetry in this connexion is particularly thorough and judicious.

All this is well calculated to interest and inform the 'modern reader of poetry', and I have only one major complaint to make about Dr. Brewer's introduction, which concerns the section 'Rhetoric'. This is certainly not bad, as such sections go; but it made me at least feel that the discussion of Chaucerian rhetoric (an important topic, not least in an edition such as this) is in danger of becoming stagnant. Faral has at last been joined by Curtius, and Dr. Brewer acknowledges this with a short and chilling section entitled 'Commonplaces'; but he goes on to give yet another analysis (at least the third, as he himself admits) of the first stanza of the *Parlement*: 'The second line contains a metaphor, which is also an example of *circumlocutio*. . .'. This is one kind of rhetorical analysis, certainly; but there is more than this in Geoffrey of Vinsauf (though Faral's influential introduction partly conceals it), and much more outside Geoffrey, in Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, for example, or even in the French 'second rhetorics' edited by Langlois in 1902. I instance Dante's discussion of 'constructio' (*V.E.*, II, vi) and 'vocabula' (II, vii), or—at a more technical level—the treatments of rhyme and 'mos couvers' to be found in Langlois's collection.

However, Dr. Brewer's introduction as a whole is both learned and engaging—so engaging, indeed, that the innocent reader (having skipped, probably, the section on editorial policy) may feel a little betrayed when he comes to the text itself and finds it distinctly more difficult to read than Robinson's. Dr. Brewer, following the general practice of the series, founds his text on 'the best single source', manuscript Gg. Unfortunately this manuscript exhibits, in Robinson's words, 'a vagarious orthography', which the present editor largely preserves, thinking it better, as he says, 'not to attempt the hazards of a wholesale reconstruction of Chaucer's spelling'. I feel myself that this is unfortunate. Robinson's spelling-system (based on the Ellesmere *Canterbury Tales* and the Corpus *Troilus*) is not, and does not pretend to be, exactly that of Chaucer himself; but it is an approximation, and it is familiar. Gg's 'system' is neither. Forms such as *thil* (till) and *wile* (file) are surely out of place in an edition intended for literary study; and, if we are to have them, why not also *Volantyn* and *Sothion*, forms which Dr. Brewer relegates to the textual notes?

The explanatory notes are generally sound and helpful, though the editor is not at his best with the list of lovers portrayed in Venus's temple. He fails to point out the distinction between the recalcitrant maidens on one wall and the lovers on the other (see Bennett, p. 101)—indeed his note on Atalanta suggests that he has not observed it; he identifies *Candace* with the Ovidian Canace, making no mention of the traditional (and more plausible) identification with the Candace

of the Alexander cycle; and he makes an unnecessary fuss about Rhea Silvia, whom Chaucer surely knew from Ovid, *Fasti*, iii.

His glossary is complete (all forms of all words), and it tackles phrases as phrases, as Chaucer glossaries should (though occasionally old atomistic habits reassert themselves, as when the phrase *loke of* is broken up between two separate entries). Sometimes, however, the editor gives less help than he might—*discreetly* in 241 means more than 'discreetly', and 'pull' is hardly an adequate gloss for *pull* (164), which means 'wrestling-bout'. There are some other imperfections: *thou3te* (28) is not an emended form; *were* (138) does not mean 'weir' in its ordinary modern sense (which does not fit the context)—it is a kind of fish-trap (see *O.E.D.* under *weir*, 2); *touchede* (216) has a technical sense (see quotation from Moxon, *O.E.D.* under *touch*, I. 6. a, 'so hard that a File will not touch it' (as Smiths say when a File will not cut or race it)); *ielous* (342), despite the editor's note, means simply 'jealous' (Bennett, p. 150); *beurye* (348) probably does not mean 'conceal'—its use with 'conseyl' strongly suggests that it is a (not unprecedented) form of *biwreye*, as Skeat suggested, used for the rhyme (see *M.E.D.* for the phrase *biwreye conseil*); *brynge forth* (613 and 192?) means 'rear, bring up', not 'bring forth, hatch' (*M.E.D.* under *bring*, 2. b (d)).

Occasional blemishes apart, however, Dr. Brewer's book deserves a welcome. It is the first separate scholarly edition of a minor poem of Chaucer to appear for many years. It is learned, compact, and well produced. I look forward to the *Hous of Fame* in the same series.

J. A. BURROW

The Quest for the Holy Grail. By F. W. LOCKE. Pp. 126 (Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 21). Stanford: University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 28s. net.

It is ultimately through Malory that most Englishmen know the Grail story. Professor Vinaver has shown that his 'Tale of the Sankgreal' 'is to all intents and purposes a translation of the French *Queste del Saint Graal*', and it is this mysterious early thirteenth-century prose romance that is interpreted by Mr. Locke, an Assistant Professor of French at Stanford University. In Malory's version a variety of alterations has shifted the emphasis from 'spiritual' achievement to 'earthly', but the allegorical features of the *Queste* remain in all their abundant and puzzling detail—for example, the Ship of Solomon, the bed and crown, the swords, and the spindles which are 'whyght as snowe . . . rede as bloode and . . . grene as ony emerauwe'. Mr. Locke 'explains' them all. His is the first major work on the *Queste* since the edition by A. Pauphilet in 1923 and Pauphilet's *Études sur la Queste* of 1921. (An English translation of the *Queste* was made in 1926 by W. W. Comfort. All the quotations from the *Queste* in Locke's book are accompanied by a translation.)

The book begins with an acknowledgement of a debt to A. Pauphilet, 'that rare scholar-critic whose insights into the artistic center of' the *Queste* have been followed out in all they imply. Pauphilet wrote: 'Des longtemps les écrivains religieux et particulièrement les commentateurs de la Bible avaient créé une sorte

de vaste répertoire de correspondances entre les choses spirituelles et les apparences concrètes des phénomènes.' It is because of these 'correspondances' that the parts of the *Queste* 'tiennent ensemble non par leur forme narrative, mais par leur signification morale'. That is why Mr. Locke approaches this romance of chivalry as if it were *Piers Plowman*.

He argues, for example, that 'each of the characters in the *Queste* is capable of bearing a tremendous burden of significance . . . all the major characters . . . converge on Christ and derive from Him their functional meaning' (p. 82). Further, not only is Galahad Christ but 'it may be said that at a given moment Bors is Christ, Lancelot is Christ'; and, he explains, 'the verb "is" should be taken as the analogical copula, not as the predicate copula' (p. 67). Another example is the Ship of Solomon which 'evokes many other things' (p. 82): it is the Church *in via* (p. 86), moving towards Sarras, the Spiritual City, the Heavenly Jerusalem; to it are related analogically the temple of Solomon, the ark of Noah, and the ark of the Covenant, and, in the end, Mr. Locke argues, it is none other than the Grail itself since it is a 'container' of objects which 'are, in the light of the tradition, reducible to one; the Eucharist, Christ. And that is what Galahad saw in the Grail' (pp. 91-92).

There are, however, at least two difficulties. The first is the slightness or non-existence of evidence in the text of the *Queste* for many of these analogies. Granted, on the one hand, that Galahad's coming is once said to bear a close resemblance 'a la venue Jhesucrist, de semblance ne mie de hautece [to the coming of Jesus Christ, in appearance (though) not at all in degree]', what evidence is there on the other hand that the author wished us to understand by the Ship of Solomon any of the traditional types of the Church? It will not do to affirm, simply, that he and a medieval reader would have had them all in mind.

The second difficulty is related and I express it deliberately in the form of a question: has Mr. Locke a correct understanding of the nature of medieval typology? There would seem to be two sorts of matter in the *Queste*: there are those phenomena too numerous to need mention which are interpreted immediately with crystal clarity by a hermit or the writer as simple allegories, and there are those, with which Mr. Locke is concerned, which are not. With regard to these, he insists that they have a 'poetic function: to imply, to suggest' (p. 6). Presumably with regard to these, he says the '*Queste* cannot be interpreted as didactic allegory' (pp. 35, 67-68) with "'equivalents" for all the characters, things and events in the book'. 'It is . . . a poem. . . . The ambiguity of its symbolic images, its indirections, sets it apart from more logical modes of discourse' (p. 7). On the other hand, Mr. Locke says that 'typology', the method of interpretation he favours, is 'the *sensus allegoricus* of the exegetes' (p. 83). The question is in what way was this *sensus allegoricus* 'ambiguous'? Was its language altogether 'set apart from more logical modes of discourse'? Certainly in the *Queste* even the mysterious Grail is eventually clearly identified as the bowl of the Last Supper and to achieve it is to be fed with its contents at the hand of the Saviour Himself.

Ought Mr. Locke not to have paused and questioned his method when he found himself writing after a typical piece of exegesis, 'a reader may well have

failed to detect the typological resonances' (p. 77)? But he cannot accept that there should be so much in the *Queste* that appears 'sheer fantasy, of no consequence' (p. 79). Clear that too formal and delimited an interpretation of the 'symbols' would be untrue to their effect upon him, and yet sure that it is in terms of typology that the interpretation must be made, he embarks upon controversial waters. It would be most helpful if Mr. Locke would explore further an area Miss Rosemond Tuve has worked in and follow his intriguing, learned, and sensitive exegesis with a more general consideration from both the literary and theological points of view, and as regards both original intentions and what the modern reader sees, of how 'poetic' a significance typological images bear.

R. T. DAVIES

Short Time's Endless Monument. The Symbolism of the Numbers in Edmund Spenser's *Epithalamion*. By A. KENT HIEATT. Pp. x+118. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 30s. net.

This slim volume constitutes an event of importance in Spenser scholarship. Not only does it offer an entirely fresh interpretation of *Epithalamion*, but also (though the author himself does not claim this) the possibility of a new approach to Spenser's poetry as a whole. Until recently the criticism of Spenser mostly concerned itself with fairly large literary units. The tacit assumption was that, however accurate his allegory, however condensed and allusive his mythology, nevertheless, in terms of the phrase, even of the stanza, Spenser's construction was loose and uneconomical. He might (though this was doubtful) have written the best cantos in the best order; but not the best words in the best order. Mr. Hieatt's very original book is one of a number of contemporary studies that are completely altering this older conception. For he is able to show—in my opinion quite conclusively—that the minutiae of the poem are consummately ordered in an intricate system of numerological symbolism. This is the main structural principle; and no one ignorant of it is in a position to make pronouncements about *Epithalamion's* formal qualities.

A number of other Elizabethan poets used numerological arrangements (I have collected many examples in Peele, Drayton, and Jonson in particular); yet no other seems to have hit upon Spenser's brilliant device, of using the numbers of astronomy. This device makes possible a mimetic dramatization of astronomical and temporal patterns at the formal level. It is as a total entity that *Epithalamion* celebrates the cosmic renewal of life to which marriage makes its human contribution. For, of the larger, cosmic movement, the poem's exterior structure presents an arithmological model—a microcosm with its own system of numerical laws.

Mr. Hieatt begins by noticing what it is almost incredible that no one has noticed before: namely that the 24 stanzas and 365 long lines of *Epithalamion* represent numerically the measure of the day in hours and of the year in days. The bearing of this pattern upon the problem of the poem's apparently irregular

metrical scheme is not lost upon Mr. Hieatt. Previous attempts to explain this unique metrical form by referring it to Italian *canzone* structure have never entirely succeeded. Now we see that the variations in stanzaic length, and in the proportions of long and short lines, must follow from the numerological scheme as a matter of arithmetical necessity. It is impossible to divide 365 equally into 24 parts.

Given these initial observations, the discovery of subtlety after subtlety of arrangement follows naturally, until with mounting excitement the reader forms the impression that he is for the first time experiencing the poem substantially as Spenser intended it. We see, for instance, the structural division of the 24 stanza-hours into hours of day and hours of night, signalized by a change in the refrain from positive to negative forms at stanza 17: the stanza at which, in the 'narrative', night comes upon the day of Spenser's marriage. More exactly, the transit from light to darkness is at l. 300, 'Now night is come . . .', the last of the group of long lines at the beginning of stanza 17. This line occurs exactly $16\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas after the commencement of the poem. Now, as Mr. Hieatt is able to show, at the latitude of southern Ireland, the place of Spenser's marriage, on 'the longest day in all the year', the hours of daylight were also $16\frac{1}{2}$. The short lines appear to symbolize divisions of time, marking the graduation of the stanzas into four quarter-hour groups of long lines; a precision of measurement characteristic of the remarkable numerology of *Epithalamion*.

Many further subtleties are revealed, particularly in the Envoy, where individual words are re-enlivened by Mr. Hieatt's ministrations, and come to exhibit a weight and accuracy unsuspected before. Yet one hardly ever feels that the symbolic arrangements are being invented. This is partly because at every turn results are independently confirmed by the actual wording, or by some feature of the imagery. Thus the hours do not merely appear as stanzas, but are also prominent among the bride's attendants: 'fayre heures'

Which doe the seasons of the yeare allot,
And al that euer in this world is fayre
Doe make and still repayre. (ll. 100-2)

Objectivity is also assured by Mr. Hieatt's method, which inspires confidence by its lucidity and rigour. As is proper in an essay breaking new ground in such a field, maximum allowance is made for the possibility that patterns may be the result of mere coincidence. And at every stage Mr. Hieatt makes it quite clear which patterns are being established as certain, and which only tentatively suggested.

The only phase of the argument which is imperfectly worked out is that describing the system of paired images in the two halves of the poem. (Mr. Hieatt's concluding section is an edition of the text, designed to display these correspondences.) Some stanzas are matched convincingly (such as 9 and 21, with their moon-goddess images); but with others the comparison seems far-fetched. Nevertheless, the pattern is established: a critical overhaul of this section would add more instances of pairing than it subtracted. For instance, the parallel between stanzas 2 and 14, which seems to Mr. Hieatt his weakest, seems stronger

if we recall that the Bacchus of the later stanza is an avatar of the earlier stanza's sun-god.

Another instance where Mr. Hieatt's argument might be buttressed comes in his demonstration that a prominent mention of the marriage-day occurs around the 103rd long line. No accident, surely, that this day, St. Barnabas's Day, was the 103rd of the year, if 1 March is reckoned to begin the year. But Mr. Hieatt needlessly undermines this construction by a qualification: 'March 1 is not, of course, conventionally speaking, the first day of the year, which for Elizabethans was Lady Day, March 25.' In fact, when Spenser was writing, before the Gregorian calendar reform was accepted in England, the beginning of the astronomical year (the vernal equinox) was 10/11 March, not 25 March. But a separate tradition, of crucial importance for Mr. Hieatt's thesis, began the astronomical year on 1 March; a practice which had the convenience of making the intercalary day, 29 February, conclude the calendar.¹ At a number of other places where Renaissance astronomy enters the argument it would have been instructive, in view of modern ignorance of the subject, if Mr. Hieatt had gone into a little more detail.

These flaws do not in my view seriously detract from what represents a permanent contribution to Spenserian scholarship. *Short Time's Endless Monument* should be read, not only by specialists, but by all those interested in extreme poetic achievements. For this brilliant essay in literary investigation, itself a critical *tour de force*, reveals *Epithalamion* to be an apex of Renaissance art, a miracle of artistic unity, with a hidden complexity almost unknown in continental poetry of the period. Its numerology is never merely ingenious or cryptic, but the result of 'a pursuit of an integral meaning, integrally expressed, below the surface of discourse'.

ALASTAIR FOWLER

The Queen and the Poet. By WALTER OAKESHOTT. Pp. 232. London: Faber and Faber, 1960. 25s. net.

It has been given to the Rector of Lincoln to make more exciting literary discoveries than fall to the lot of most scholars. This is not, of course, a matter of luck, but of the breadth of his interests and the learning to enable him to recognize the work of writers widely separated in time, found in unlikely places. In his introduction Dr. Oakeshott recounts with justifiable relish—for it is the sort of story which will rejoice the heart of all bibliophiles—the circumstances which enabled him in 1952 to identify a manuscript which had been in his possession since 1935, and which he was about to sell, as a notebook in Sir Walter Raleigh's hand containing material for his *History of the World* and a list of the books in his library, and with a hitherto unknown poem to Cynthia on the fly-leaf. It is to be hoped that the intention to publish this notebook in full will be speedily carried out.

The present book falls into two parts: the first examines Raleigh's relations

¹ D. J. Price (ed.), *The Equatoris of the Planetis* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 63–64; see also R. L. Poole, 'The beginning of the year in the Middle Ages', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, x (1921).

with Queen Elizabeth, and the second is an edition of the poems which the author considers Raleigh wrote for or about the Queen. Dr. Oakeshott begins by assembling the meagre evidence relating to Raleigh's meteoric rise to favour at Court. He reproduces the seal Raleigh adopted as Governor of Virginia in 1585 in which the arms are mounted on a cloak. Although on p. 23 Dr. Oakeshott is admirably judicious about the support given to the legend of the cloak by this fairly common form of mantling, by p. 27 Raleigh's 'first reckless gesture' has become a fact. Elsewhere the available evidence is rather overpressed. For example, on the brief intimacy of Raleigh, Cecil, and Leicester in the summer of 1597, Dr. Oakeshott cites Raleigh's letter to Cecil of 6 July:

I acquainted the Lord General [Essex] with your letter to me, and your kind acceptance of your entertainment; he was also wonderful merry at your conceit of *Richard the Second*.

On p. 72 it seems to be realized that *entertainment* might simply mean hospitality, but by p. 73 the reader is assured that 'arguments that the item referred to was not Shakespeare's play are hardly credible in view of the later connection with Essex'. In modernizing the spelling of Raleigh's letter a reference to the play has been made to appear more likely by rendering 'y^e consait of Richard the .2.' with italics as above, and by omitting to mention that the comparison between Elizabeth and this King was being made as early as 1578.

All we can really say about Raleigh's first fall from favour in 1589 is that it was in some way connected with the rise of Essex; but Dr. Oakeshott seeks to show that it was due to an unplatonic approach to the Queen. He adduces as evidence the sonnet 'Would I were chang'd into that golden shower' which is attributed to Raleigh on doubtful evidence and which it is extremely unlikely that any poet, even Raleigh, would have addressed to the Queen.¹ In 'The Ocean to Cynthia', ll. 61-64, Raleigh records that he tried to conquer his love for Cynthia by going away; but the memory of her was stronger than 10,000 ships of war to call him back:

To seek new worlds, for gold, for praise, for glory;
To try desire, to try love severed far.

Dr. Oakeshott interprets *to try desire* to mean to make a bolder approach to the Queen (in 1589); but in the context the phrase cannot surely offer such a violent contrast to the other courses of action Raleigh proposed for himself (in 1592). *Severed far* would seem to govern both *desire* and *love*: 'to try going away where his desire and love would be far separated from their object'.

¹ The sonnet is an adaptation not of one by Desportes, as Dr. Oakeshott has it, but of Ronsard's Vith Sonnet to Cassandre:

Je voudrais bien richement jaunissant,
En pluie d'or goutte à goutte descendre
Dans le giron de ma belle Cassandre . . .

and 'the golden shower', particularly in relation to Danae, is a commonplace and not a striking phrase which can be used to show Spenser to be referring to this poem every time he uses it.

The evidence for attributing Raleigh's disgrace and imprisonment in 1592 to his clandestine marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton is less controversial, and no one is likely to dispute that, in portraying Belpheobe's anger at discovering the humble adoring Timias of Book III embracing Amoret (*F.Q.*, IV. vii and viii), Spenser is shadowing the event which brought the Queen's displeasure on Raleigh. It is a pity, though, that Dr. Oakeshott has revived the now discredited 'School of Night' which is in no way integral to his argument, and also the identification of the fantastical Spaniard Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost* with Raleigh, which fits neither the dates nor the story of Raleigh's release from prison and restoration to favour as related by Dr. Oakeshott. I forbear to go into details here as the case against the identification with Raleigh, and a far stronger one for Antonio Perez is made by Robert Gittings in *The Rival Poet* (1960).

'The Poems of Cynthia' are much the most valuable part of this study—though students of the period will probably join the reviewer in an 'extravagance of scepticism' over some of the attributions and feel that on the evidence offered some of these poems can at best only be retained in the 'Doubtful' category. But it is much to provide us with two new indisputable additions to the canon: 'Now we have present made' (from the Notebook), and 'In vain mine eyes, in vain ye waste your tears' (hitherto only known from the extracts quoted by Puttenham). I accept the view that, in spite of the title 'The XIth' and last book of the *Ocean to Cynthia*, and the testimony of Spenser, there is no lost epic poem of this title, but only scattered poems which can be grouped under the title of *Cynthia*; and we are all agreed that the poem we have is a very rough draft indeed.

Raleigh's poems have attracted much independent comment recently. Professor Ure² draws timely attention to the late medieval quality of Raleigh's melancholy, and Dr. Davie wrestles once more with the interpretation of 'The Ocean to Cynthia'.³ The point of departure for all commentators is Miss Latham's revised edition of Raleigh's *Poems* (1951) and Professor Philip Edwards's sensitive and intelligent commentary on 'The Ocean to Cynthia' in his *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1953). But whereas Miss Latham sticks mainly to textual criticism, and Mr. Edwards to the general interpretation of the significance of Raleigh's extremely obscure poem, Dr. Oakeshott has imposed an obligation on himself to consider the exact meaning of the poem line by line, carefully unravelling the confusion of pronouns and of subjects and objects. Here he is not seeking to prove a case, but to discover and illuminate; and to disagree with his (often tentative) suggestions is not a matter for embarrassment but a pleasurable conversation. Thus,

No pleasing streams fast to the ocean wending
The messengers sometimes of my great woe, (ll. 33-34)

is glossed 'The pleasing streams were the songs . . . which were thus messengers to Cynthia of the poet's sorrows' (p. 178). But surely this is the wrong way

¹ With Mr. Edwards I really cannot see the first figure in the manuscript as anything but a 2—i.e. 21th book.

² *Review of English Literature*, i, No. 3 (July 1960), 19-29.

³ *Elizabethan Poetry*, ed. J. R. Brown and B. Harris (London, 1960), pp. 71-91

round. Raleigh is the Ocean (see the title of the poem); so the pleasing streams must be communications from Cynthia which sometimes, however, merely added to the poet's sorrows. The unravelling of the argument in ll. 171-82, 303-18, 400-4 is particularly skilful, and the interpretation of ll. 493-6 is preferable to Mr. Edwards's:

She is gone, she is lost. She is found, she is ever fair!
Sorrow draws weakly, where love draws not too.
Woe's cries sound nothing but only in Love's ear.
Do then, by dying, what life cannot do.

Mr. Edwards takes the sense of ll. 493-6 to be that Cynthia's love has proved to be not the divine and eternal love which he had thought it; only death will fully realize that aspiration; such love will be found 'only by dying'. I doubt this interpretation because of the two intervening lines, which are then in a quite different key. It means rather that there is still Cynthia, eternally fair; but that his sorrows can do little to move her towards him, *when they are not reinforced by her love*; that only his death can satisfy her, perhaps; or alternatively move her at last to remember him. A more accurate paraphrase of the clause in italics would be 'when she is not moved by his love'.

Dr. Oakeshott offers a paraphrase of ll. 297-8—

My mind had wounds, I dare not say deceit
Were I resolved her promise was not just—

but is not afraid to conclude: 'Even so, the meaning remains very obscure; what promise, and how not just?' These questions are scarcely susceptible of an answer at this date, but it may be worth noting that the lines seem to connect with l. 465, 'My love was false; my labours were deceit'. With the present punctuation in ll. 311-13,

Such is Love,
As while it lasteth scorns th'account of those
Seeking but self contentment to improve;

Love scorns the achievement of those who seek only self-satisfaction, and it is not (and could not be) Love who seeks self-contentment. L. 349, Beauty *braving* the heavens is not so much 'adding bravery or splendour to' as 'challenging them in splendour'. L. 367, *depraving* means 'slandering' rather than 'maddening'.

Turning back to the shorter poems, the glossing of *smack* as 'taste' should be accepted: 'And champ the bridle of a better smack' (p. 150), as also the emendation of *false* to *fall'n*, 'A climbing heart, fall'n down from Fortune's lap' (p. 147). *False* was no doubt reached via a scribal error in tense, *fals* or *falles*.

I agree that in the line, 'In aye she Mistress-like makes all things pure' (p. 148) "in aye" seems (to say the least of it) unusual, and would accept Sir Edmund Chambers's emendation to 'in air'. (In *England's Helicon* the line is rather clumsily altered to 'She Mistrisse-like makes all things to be pure'.)

I do wonder whether even Raleigh was capable of the allusiveness attributed to him in the note to 'Thus fortune yields, in manger oft for spite'; 'Fortune yields only after strenuous efforts; keeping off the ambitious man, like the pro-

verbal dog in the manger' (p. 146). This dog was not given to yielding, and might we not have here the common *u/n* confusion, Raleigh having written, tautologously: 'in mauger [= ill will, despite] oft for spite'?

There is something to be said for removing the added obstacle of Raleigh's highly idiosyncratic spelling from the obscure 'The Ocean to Cynthia'. As Dr. Oakeshott says, the original spelling can be consulted in Miss Latham's text, and the one attempt to offer the spelling of the original is not happy—as can be seen by comparing the photograph of the verses in the Raleigh Notebook on p. 140 with the text on p. 205. The arduous decision to emend the text of this poem at l. 10 has produced a confusion where the note indicates that the editor meant to read *lusteth*, though his text has the undoubtedly correct *lastethe*. In the excitement of discovering that Hannah was correct in reading *rinde* at l. 473 of 'The Ocean to Cynthia' against Miss Latham's *vinde*, the word has been introduced unmodernized into the text. Despite Spenser's rhyming of *fade* and *vade* for the convenience of his stanza, it would seem wiser to accept the authority of *O.E.D.* and regard *vade* as a variant spelling on p. 186 and modernize, as Mr. Edwards does without comment. At l. 391 of 'Cynthia' Dr. Oakeshott keeps the spelling of the original, *perrellike* breast, but suggests that the first element is *perrie* (precious stones collectively), and not *pearl*. This is ingenious, and provides the extra syllable required by the metre—though *pearl*, so often used by Shakespeare with the emphasis on preciousness, need not be a visual image and is not so unsatisfactory as all that.

Enough has been said to indicate how much the author of this interesting book has done by patient inquiry to advance our understanding of Raleigh's longest and most difficult poem.

JEAN ROBERTSON

Shakespeare's Comedies. By BERTRAND EVANS. Pp. xiv+338. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 42s. net.

Mr. Evans's thesis is that the dramatic effects of Shakespeare's comedies depend to a very large degree on what he somewhat alarmingly calls 'the exploitation of discrepant awarenesses'. The plots of all the comedies after *The Comedy of Errors* turn upon the practices, or intrigues, which certain of the characters engage in at the expense of other characters. Whether the practice is kindly or malevolent in intention, comedy arises from the skill with which the 'practisers' exploit the gaps between their superior awareness of what is going on and the ignorance of those whom they are deceiving. The comic effects are greatly enhanced for the audience by the significant advantage which, in their knowledge of all the practices engaged in, they at some time hold over each of the characters in the play, 'practisers' and 'practisees' alike, for Shakespeare almost invariably gives his audience advance information about the deceits (or 'devices') in which his characters are to be involved, and is therefore able to carry out his exploitation of discrepant awarenesses at two levels. Thus, for example, in *Twelfth Night*, written when Shakespeare had brought his method to maturity,

seven of the principal characters are active practisers, and they operate six devices.

All action turns on these, and the effects of the play arise from exploitation of the gaps they open. During all but the first two of eighteen scenes we have the advantage of some participant; in seven—an unusually high proportion—we hold advantage over all who take part. In the course of the action, every named person takes a turn below our vantage-point, and below the vantage-point of some other person or persons; in this play neither heroine nor clown is wholly spared.

Mr. Evans builds up his case by means of careful analyses of all seventeen of Shakespeare's comedies and romances. He argues his points clearly and persuasively, and there can be no doubt that he has made an important contribution to the study of Shakespearian comedy, and indeed of comedy in general. Moreover, by treating the plays in chronological order he is able to trace the development of Shakespeare's powers in the significant aspect of his dramatic art that he has set himself the task of exploring. From *The Comedy of Errors*, where the audience is in the commanding position of knowing, as no character in the play knows, that there are two pairs of identical twins abroad in Ephesus, right through to *The Tempest*, where there is little to choose between the degrees of awareness of Prospero and of the audience, Shakespeare manifests an ever-increasing diversity and ingenuity in his ability to manipulate the gaps in awareness between the several characters of his plays, and between these characters and the audience.

Mr. Evans's method of analysis also enables him to explain why the dark or pathetic episodes in the comedies do not fundamentally disrupt the comic framework within which their action is set. The world of *Measure for Measure* is sordid and its action potentially tragic, but it is kept in the realm of comedy by our constant awareness of the presence of an 'omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent practiser', in the person of the Duke. In *Cymbeline*, likewise, where 'practices are spawned by practices more profusely than in any other play', Shakespeare conceals no vital information from us, his audience, and even when they themselves see nothing before them but misery or death, we know that all will yet be well with Imogen and Posthumus and the young princes.

And yet, with all its wisdom, there is something basically lopsided about Mr. Evans's book. In his concentration upon practices and awarenesses he leaves out of account everything else that makes Shakespearian comedy what it is: tone and temper, verbal ingenuity or ineptitude, the sheer humour of character, of wits and jesters and clowns at whom we laugh irrespective of whether they are deceiving others or themselves being deceived. He is, of course, conscious of these and other sources of comedy, but by ignoring them in his analyses he in effect reduces all the plays to mere comedies of situation. This is not the dominant impression they give when they are read, much less when they are seen in the theatre.

Nor is it possible to accept all of Mr. Evans's judgements on individual plays or scenes. The dissatisfaction often felt with *Troilus and Cressida* is surely not to be put down, as he implies, to Shakespeare's failure here to handle discrepant awarenesses advantageously, but rather to the critics' difficulty in assessing Shakespeare's purposes in writing the play, their inability to reconcile its conflicting moods, and their unwillingness to identify themselves with its leading characters; perhaps too the fact that some of its most impressive effects, such as the irony of *Cressida's* vow of constancy, depend on an extra-dramatic knowledge

of the story, and are therefore felt to have been gained by illegitimate means. Then Mr. Evans asserts that Imogen's tears over what she believes to be Posthumus's headless body demand 'the same sort of laughter' as we bestow on Titania when she dotes on Bottom in the ass's head. Here our awareness that the body is Cloten's and not Posthumus's may check our tears, but which of us laughs during this scene?

However, these and other disputable judgements merely illustrate the dangers of any approach to Shakespeare that is narrowly based; they do not invalidate the thesis which Mr. Evans has so painstakingly developed. Full-scale, comprehensive studies of Shakespearian comedy are few and far between. Any book that increases our understanding of these plays, whether as a class or individually, and that relates them to a consistently applied view of comedy, deserves a warm welcome; Mr. Evans has written such a book. He believes that the technique he has described is not confined to the comedies, and promises in the near future 'a similar account of the management of awarenesses in the histories and tragedies'; readers of the present volume will look forward with interest to its appearance.

T. S. DORSCH

Angel with Horns. By A. P. ROSSITER. Pp. xii+316. London: Longmans, Green, 1961. 30s. net.

A. P. Rossiter, who died in 1957 after a motor accident, had a great reputation as a lecturer and Mr. Graham Storey has performed a useful service in collecting fifteen of his lectures on Shakespeare, delivered originally at Stratford and Cambridge. Together they form a stimulating, and occasionally original, interpretation of Shakespeare. There is nothing about the early comedies, *Twelfth Night*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, or the plays of the last period; but there are interpretations of the Histories, of the Problem Plays, and of most of the tragedies.

As Mr. Storey points out, Rossiter published comparatively little: his energies in his later years were devoted to teaching and he took immense pains both with the preparation and with the delivery of his lectures. In cold print, though still of great interest, they are, it must be confessed, less effective. The tricks of the trade—devices to hold the attention of the audience, facetious academic jokes at the expense of the academic mind, diagrams, paradoxes, exaggerations—sometimes conceal the underlying seriousness of his commitment to literature as an interpretation of life. No one will read this book without being exasperated as well as stimulated. The exasperation is due largely to the style. There are nearly a hundred parentheses in the first lecture, more than half of them unnecessarily distracting.

Rossiter continually suggests that Shakespeare was more subtle and complex than his commentators, so that neat, unambiguous interpretations of the plays are never wholly satisfactory. The lecture on the Histories is characteristically entitled 'Ambivalence'. We cannot say, for example, that Shakespeare accepts the Tudor myth of history—or even that he rejects it. Rossiter comments on Richard III's 'prowess as actor and his embodiment of the comic Vice' as well

as on his function as an avenging angel; and to those critics who speak of Richard II as a poet, Rossiter retorts: 'If so, surely a very *bad* poet.'

There are four lectures on the Problem Plays, and Rossiter is impatient with modern attempts to explain away their difficulties. He feels that

In *All's Well* there are 'disparities of experience' (thought and feeling) which fail to reach 'amalgamation'. The play came from an unresolved creative mind, in which sentimentality tried to balance scepticism.

He is quite unconvinced by some Christian interpretations of *Measure for Measure*:

When I find up-to-date Shakespearian interpreters so emphatic, and so certain about significances which were totally missed by such great and discerning critics—and Christians—as Johnson and Coleridge, I take leave to lift an eye-brow.

To which, perhaps, we might retort that some of the significances stressed by Rossiter himself were likewise missed by Johnson and Coleridge.

Rossiter stresses the subjectivity of *Hamlet*, so that nearly everything in the play can be felt as happening to the hero, and he makes effective use of quotations from Montaigne's 'Of the Inconstancie of our Actions'. His interpretation of *Othello* is close to that of Dr. F. R. Leavis; but he makes the interesting point that Coleridge's view of the play was affected by his own jealous temperament and, more dubiously, uses psycho-analytical theory to support his view of the Moor's character. He likewise follows Professor L. C. Knights in assuming that *Macbeth* is best interpreted through its themes and imagery, rather than through 'character'. He is excellent on Macbeth's discourse on dogs, but rather weak on the Porter scene.

Finally, there are sensible lectures on Coriolanus, on 'Shakespearian Tragedy', on 'Comic Relief', and one on *Much Ado* which is notable for a brilliant defence of 'Hear me call Margaret Hero, hear Margaret term me Claudio'. In spite of its eccentricities the book as a whole is a notable contribution to Shakespeare criticism. One or two of Rossiter's published articles might with advantage have been included.

KENNETH MUIR

The Gazetteer, 1735-1797. By ROBERT L. HAIG. Pp. viii + 336. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960. \$8.50. U.K. Agent: W. S. Hall and Co., Nottingham. 68s.

The *Gazetteer* had a life of its own for over sixty years. It was a descendant of our first daily newspaper the *Daily Courant*, and in 1797 it was sold to the *Morning Post*, thus becoming one of the ancestors of the *Daily Telegraph*. Pope, Fielding, Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, and Burke refer to it with praise or gibe. Samuel Richardson printed its early issues, and suggested that it should extend its interests beyond politics. It began, indeed, as a subsidized instrument of Walpole's policies.

In 1748 the paper was reorganized as the *London Gazetteer*, owned by a group of twenty proprietors, each holding one share only. In these days of combines

and take-over bids, it is exhilarating to find 'that no one who held interest in any other daily paper could become a partner', and 'that any partner who should later acquire such interest automatically forfeited his share'. From its files and from documents connected with it, Professor Haig traces vicissitudes of the paper with a detailed care that makes fascinating reading. He throws light on its production, its financial arrangements, its public relations, and its often colourful personalities.

In 1753 the paper became the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, with William Owen as publisher and Charles Green Say as printer, and began the course that was to make it indisputably one of London's leading dailies. Say was a man of ideas—he thought, for example, of supplementing the intelligence gleaned from foreign papers with reports direct from naval officers. He was also a man of some courage, and needed to be: he had to contend with rising taxes on newspapers and advertisements, and he was half a dozen times in trouble with Parliament for reports or comments. There were local risks too, such as the outcry which followed an unfounded report that there was plague at Bristol. Say improved the appearance of the paper, taking hints from his rival the *Public Ledger*.

Besides the news, the *Gazetteer* printed essays on 'Commerce and other Matters of Importance to the Nation', and on 'the useful and polite Arts', data about current prices, shipping information, bills of mortality, lists of bankrupts, even lists of letters lying unclaimed at the Post Office, and it encouraged 'Observations from Correspondents', though it sometimes treated these tartly. Sir John Fielding recommended it as an efficient means of detecting robberies through its advertising service, and Say had to assure the public that the Bow Street magistrate was not concerned in the management of the paper.

In 1769 proceedings for libel were prepared against Say because he had reprinted a Letter of Junius. He was not brought to trial, but the *Gazetteer* published eleven letters condemning the prosecution as illegal. It has its honourable place in the struggle for the freedom of the Press, despite its dubious beginnings.

After Say's death, his widow became the printer and continued in the post after her marriage to Edward Vint. She was a capable woman, but ended in dispute with the proprietors—fortunately for Mr. Haig, for the documents of the case have proved a mine of information about the paper.

The Scotsman, James Perry, during the period 1783–90, for the first time provided a consistent and comprehensive editorial policy, that of preserving to the *Gazetteer* 'the honourable and peculiar distinction of being the *Paper of the People*'. A later editor was John Radcliffe, whose fame has suffered from the Gothic shadows of his wife: *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is more easily accessible than the *Gazetteer*. Yet in a sense, the romance is the child of the newspaper, for it is said that Mrs. Radcliffe took to writing her thrillers to occupy herself while her husband was working at night on the paper.

Mr. Haig has written a memorable chapter in the history of the English press, with substantial notes supporting a lucid narrative, a useful index, a full bibliography, and photographs of the paper in its successive forms of presentation. He has restricted himself deliberately to the rise and fall of the paper as a business

enterprise, though he hints at the interest of its contents—its views on the American War or the French Revolution, its comments on amateur poetry, the theatre, or Society, its assorted advertisements, its moral essays, all of which would be invaluable for a further study of eighteenth-century life and thought. The material is there in wide variety, for Perry believed that 'Miscellany is the soul of a newspaper'. He believed, too, in 'the free expression of political opinion' and in the impropriety of encouraging scandal. It is no bad creed for any newspaper.

SUSIE I. TUCKER

Johnson before Boswell. A Study of Sir John Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson*. By BERTRAM H. DAVIS. Pp. xii+222. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 36s. net.

Hawkins, a man and biographer whom there were none to praise and very few to love, has now found a zealous and learned champion. Dr. Davis's subtitle better describes his book than the main title *Johnson before Boswell*, for, although one of his claims for Hawkins is that he knew Johnson two decades before Boswell did, his major purpose is to rescue his *Life* from the contumely and neglect which has overwhelmed it since it had the misfortune to be set beside Boswell's. Indeed, Hawkins's book, after a brief popularity, was hooted down by the reviewers four years before Boswell's appeared, as Dr. Davis shows—unjustly, he argues, and to the general reader's loss (though Johnsonian scholars have become increasingly aware of Hawkins's merits). Much of the contemporary vituperation which downed the book was really, he maintains, directed against its widely disliked author: 'The book was as good as condemned before it left the presses.' Hawkins, the famously 'unclubable', had been forced out of the Literary Club after his offensiveness to Burke, and its members, with a vested interest in Johnsoniana and a prejudice in favour of Boswell's forthcoming biography, were prominent among Hawkins's detractors. Forgetting Johnson's impatience with 'honeysuckle lives', they called Hawkins malevolent because his picture of Johnson included the warts.

So, of course, did Boswell's, and Dr. Davis shows that Hawkins's picture of Johnson is 'identical in nearly all essentials with that which survives in other records', while possessing also considerable independent value as the sole evidence for some important episodes and periods of Johnson's life. Through much detailed argument, Dr. Davis shows that Malone (for instance) was as extravagantly unjust in speaking of 'the malignant prejudices of that shallow writer' as when asserting that 'There is scarcely a material fact in his book truly stated'. Slips and occasional distortions there certainly are but, as Dr. Davis rather gleefully retorts, 'Most of the charges Boswell leveled against Hawkins can be turned against Boswell himself'. Acknowledging Boswell's supremacy, he claims for Hawkins's *Life* only 'its proper position as a standard work on Johnson, second only to Boswell's'. But inevitably he becomes more severe towards Boswell's shortcomings than Hawkins's, and sometimes seems over-indulgent about Hawkins's artistic inadequacies and too apt to champion his interpretations

when they conflict with Boswell's. Thus on the vexed question of Boswell's 'dark hints' about Johnson's infidelities he argues interestingly that Hawkins's ambiguous phrases do not substantiate Boswell's allegations, and he sides with Professor Clifford against Professor Pottle in exonerating Johnson: but in quoting (p. 123 note) Boswell's journal on his discussion with Hawkins on 'a delicate question' (presumably this one) he omits Boswell's record that 'Langton assured me I weighed and decided upon [the question] as well as he could suppose it done'—from which it would seem that Langton concurred with Boswell's judgement.

Most of Hawkins's judgements are at least tenable, and most of his information is accurate: the biography's weakness lies in its omissions and lack of skill. Here Dr. Davis is less persuasive. He makes out Hawkins's digressions, or 'rigmarole', to be more relevant than Hawkins ever in fact makes them; much special pleading is necessary to prove that only forty of the three hundred pages of non-Johnsonian matter are really digressive. Moreover, the unbending, uncharitable Hawkins, familiar in many contemporary accounts, affects the biography more than Dr. Davis allows (he too often excuses Hawkins's nasty temperament as the justified scepticism of an experienced magistrate). I certainly cannot find here a portrait of Johnson 'scarcely less vital than Boswell's'. Dr. Davis's excessive enthusiasm appears when he describes a reader's reactions when opening this *Life*—misled by Boswell's aspersions, he may well 'blink his eyes in disbelief' at the very first page: proceeding to Miss Hawkins's biography of her father, this reader will be 'startled to discover' a usage of *turgid* similar to one in a much-berated passage in the *Life*. Few readers will find Hawkins so dramatic or exhilarating an experience, but it is good to hear that an abridged version is at last being printed—an event the more welcome now that Dr. Davis has shown how much more reliable and important this *Life* is than has generally been recognized.

P. A. W. COLLINS

Byron, Shelley, Hunt and *The Liberal*. By WILLIAM H. MARSHALL. Pp. xiv+270. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 40s. net.

This book contains no important surprises. It covers ground which has already been covered, though much less thoroughly, in studies concerned primarily with one or other of the chief contributors to the *Liberal*; and none of its additional material is such as to transform the picture of that periodical and its fortunes which those studies collectively provide. Nevertheless, the book is a useful addition to what has already been written on the subject. It does not merely tell the story in more detail than has hitherto been available. It tells it with a higher degree of objectivity; and it provides a full and well-documented account of the reception accorded to each number of the *Liberal* at the time of its first appearance.

To some extent, Dr. Marshall avoids partiality by avoiding comment. He chronicles the events which made up the *Liberal*'s brief history. He describes the contents of its four numbers. He quotes the observations of Byron, Shelley,

and Hunt upon one another, as well as the observations of other acquaintances upon each of them. From all this material, it emerges that the early failure of the periodical was not due simply to Byron or to Hunt, as rival partisans have contended, but to a whole complex of personal and other factors. Important among these was the elimination of Shelley's influence by his death just before the publication of the first number. This permitted the incompatibility of Byron and Hunt to become disturbingly evident. It also deprived the periodical of a clearly defined editorial policy.

Dr. Marshall allows such interpretations as these to emerge unobtrusively from a highly factual narrative. In the same way, he avoids direct critical comment on the poems, stories, and articles which appeared in the *Liberal*. He prefers on the whole to take for granted the literary merits and deficiencies of these and to discharge his task in a historian's spirit.

Regarding the contemporary reception of the *Liberal*, Dr. Marshall has a sorry tale to tell. Admittedly, the established political and other authorities were scared in 1822-3. Even so, the display of stupid, clumsy, and frightened abuse, especially of the first number, mounted by their literary spokesmen, must daunt any reader who cherishes a faith in the importance of the critical function in society. Perhaps it is particularly salutary for us to have to inspect Dr. Marshall's chamber of horrors at a time when it is fashionable to place the accent upon the indubitable merits of much nineteenth-century reviewing. But, if salutary, it is a dreary task. This is true even when the exhibits are the ostensibly comic attacks on the *Liberal* which Dr. Marshall quotes, without exaggerating their value, in his first two appendixes.

Dr. Marshall shows a remarkable fondness for peppering these and other quoted passages with the pedantic '*sic*'. In a scholarly work this practice is quite unnecessary, for readers are entitled to expect that transcriptions will be accurate. If '*sic*' is to be used at all, it should certainly not be used as on p. 223, where it is appended to 'chace', a recognized variant of 'chase'. But, if the text which Dr. Marshall is quoting at l. 4 of the following page really has 'acceptre-like', a '*sic*' would have been more defensible, since the word intended is evidently 'spectre-like'.

It would be unfair, however, to make much of these incidental blemishes. The book provides a thorough and scholarly account of the episode of the *Liberal*. By scrupulously refraining from inflating this episode, and by preserving a strict, even rigid, detachment, Dr. Marshall has made a distinctive and useful contribution to the study of literary relationships, and of periodical publications, in the early nineteenth century.

J. D. JUMP

Wordsworth and Schelling. A Typological Study of Romanticism. By E. D. HIRSCH, JR. Pp. xiv + 214 (Yale Studies in English 145). New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960. 32s. net.

Mr. Hirsch's aim is to define a type of Romantic *Weltanschauung* common to Wordsworth and Schelling which he calls 'Enthusiasm': 'the pattern of mutual

inclusiveness. . . . At one and the same time A is both A and Not-A. Everything belongs with and implies its other. . . . Reciprocity is the fundamental characteristic of the subject-object relationship' (pp. 15-20). This notion Mr. Hirsch pursues under various chapter-headings: 'God and the World' ('Enthusiasm is fundamentally a religious experience; the beyond which it constantly senses [and seeks] is nothing other than God Himself', p. 26); 'The Life of Things' ('For enthusiasm, everything is alive. . . . Life is activity. . . . Each thing has a life of its own', pp. 38, 41); 'Time' ('Enthusiasm denies the radical nature of time; there is no absolute separation between time and eternity', p. 62); and 'Imagination' (discussed as the organ of enthusiasm, working in the ethical and aesthetic fields). The final chapter attempts an explication of Wordsworth's Immortality Ode on the assumption that it represents an 'enthusiastic' approach to the problem facing the poet.

This book suffers from self-imposed limitations which sometimes appear quite arbitrary. The first is a limitation of subject. 'My object of interest was to be a historical *Weltanschauung*, not the complex personality of Wordsworth or Schelling taken singly', says Mr. Hirsch on p. 8. He seems to say either too little or too much: either he should have proved the existence of 'a historical *Weltanschauung*' in appreciably more authors than two,¹ or else he should have confined himself to the individual *Weltanschauung* of one. Or, from slightly different viewpoints, we may say that this book illuminates the thinking of Wordsworth and Schelling, but that Mr. Hirsch, starting from the highly probable postulate that neither influenced the other, has not made either illuminate the other; or that his presentation, offering rather less than a minimum of discussion on similarities of background (p. 4), makes the contemporaneity of Wordsworth and Schelling a mere accident, in that his parallels would have been as valid had one of his authors been a contemporary of Plato rather than a man of the nineteenth century.

The second limitation applies to Wordsworth; it is one of time. Mr. Hirsch, citing no more compelling authority than a reference to 'most scholars' (p. 7) and the result of a comparison between two poems (pp. 82-97), decides to confine his discussion to the Wordsworth of 1797-1805, asserting that Wordsworth's viewpoint changed in the latter year as a result of the death of his brother John (p. 95, cf. pp. 145-6). Yet the document which contains the clearest and most consistent statement of the viewpoint which Mr. Hirsch is concerned to define is the triple *Essay upon Epitaphs* of 1810, belatedly quoted in Mr. Hirsch's final chapter. Page after page of this most vivid of Wordsworth's critical writings illustrates Mr. Hirsch's key-concepts of mutual inclusiveness and reciprocity. They are involved also in the discussion of the concept of *power* in the later paragraphs of the *Essay, Supplementary to the Preface* (1815); and here too can be found one of the most striking verbal parallels between Wordsworth and Schelling.²

¹ Mr. Hirsch cites Keats and Hegel as analogues (pp. 17-18), and thinks 'that the type of *Weltanschauung* I describe is characteristic of nineteenth-century writers other than Wordsworth and Schelling' (p. 12); but these remain only tantalizing hints.

² Hirsch, p. 125, on the simplicity of great art; *Essay*, para. 4 of the standard text.

These considerations must not be taken to imply that Mr. Hirsch has failed within the area to which he has, however arbitrarily, confined himself. It would indeed require his own examples to indicate the large amount of light which his discussion, in spite of a sometimes obscure style overloaded with philosophical terms, throws on various dark passages in Wordsworth and, no doubt, in Schelling also. A few judgements seem dubious, such as the assertions that the 'spots of time' recorded in *The Prelude* in which 'the mind is lord and master' are characterized by Fancy rather than Imagination (pp. 99-100, 130),¹ and that in the seventh stanza of the Immortality Ode 'The poet is talking about man's whole course of life in such a way that man seems to remain a six-year-old' (p. 167);² but these are less important than Mr. Hirsch's general drift. Especially in the chapters on 'Time' and 'Imagination', he constantly illuminates the workings of the Wordsworthian Imagination, as in his discussion of the description of the Simpon Pass (p. 64) and in his characterizations of Wordsworth's aesthetic purpose: 'Imagination [is] a reciprocal unity of active and passive functions. . . . Art makes real and explicit what might remain potential and implicit. . . . Feeling guarantees our connection with the life of things' (pp. 117, 126, 135). The excellence of these and other dicta on related aspects of the subject makes it all the more a matter for regret that the scope of Mr. Hirsch's book is not wider.

W. J. B. OWEN

A Victorian Publisher. A Study of the Bentley Papers. By ROYAL A. GETTMANN. Pp. xii+272. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. 40s. net.

Publishers come and publishers go, seldom maintaining for more than two or three generations the strange blend of prescience and acumen that makes their name an imprint. With honourable exceptions—the Longman and Murray families seem to have stuck triumphantly in the grooves of *karma*—established publishers fade and are engulfed not so much from external factors as from inner weariness. The conditions prevailing in the world of books in 1829, when Richard Bentley added his name and money to that of Henry Colburn and founded the publishing house that is the subject of the present book, were not propitious. The partnership was uneasy; the trade had not recovered from the disastrous slump of 1826; the spectre of Tegg, the undertaker for unsold books, haunted even the best-endowed firms. Yet Bentley and Colburn survived, and, after Colburn himself had turned from partner into rival, Bentley was able to run his own business with flair and speculative *panache*. That the story of the firm is now issued by Bentley House might have been less than a coincidence if Richard Bentley I and not his grandson had been in charge in 1898. There was

¹ The book concerned deals with 'Imagination, How Impaired and Restored'; the episodes are recorded with an awe which Wordsworth rarely if ever connects with Fancy; and what Mr. Hirsch calls 'subjective imposition' seems parallel to Wordsworth's account of the 'conferring' activities of the Imagination in the Preface of 1815.

² This interpretation is surely disproved by the lines 'But it will not be long Ere this be thrown aside'.

nothing intrinsically wrong with the business, when it was sold to the vigorous young firm of Macmillan, except staleness.

A publisher, as much today as in Victorian times, is both man and imprint. It is an intensely personal profession, and to some extent the growth and nature of a business such as Richard Bentley built up can be understood only in an autobiographical context. Professor Gettmann, who leads the reader lucidly and expertly through the ledgers and letter-books that served to record the day-to-day affairs of the House of Bentley, does not attempt to throw any comparable light upon the men who directed its activities. We understand what was done, but are only intermittently aware of why. The Bentley Papers have, none the less, yielded a rich harvest. Mr. Gettmann's book will be read with particular interest and sympathy by practitioners in the world of books today. Many of the problems are the same: the differences are often only matters of degree. The rough edges of speculation, for example, have been somewhat smoothed by the general adoption of royalty scales instead of the outright purchase of copyright. 'Puffing' is more generally tolerated—indeed books may be regarded as modestly promoted articles of commerce nowadays—and contracts of a complexity that the Bentleys would have considered inconceivable guard the author and the publisher from most misunderstandings from the very beginning of their partnership.

For publishing is a partnership, as those like Mrs. Henry Wood and Rhoda Broughton, who wrote unashamedly for the market, were the first to realize. It was seldom that the publisher's ideas initiated a creative work (few authors were as obliging as Bulwer-Lytton in taking suggested topics seriously), but a knowledge of the market and some self-effacing prompting from the editorial staff could often point a promising book towards success.

With the wisdom of retrospect one can assert that the Bentleys were good publishers: far from infallible (the general ill success of travel books led to the rejection of *Eothen*), given to impetuosity (the siege of Harriet Martineau and the ill-conceived National and Juvenile Libraries serve as examples), but in most of their transactions neither greatly generous nor cautiously mean. It was, perhaps, fortunate that R. H. Barham, having sold the copyright of *The Ingoldsby Legends* for a hundred pounds, did not live to see the sales of his work climb steadily to half a million copies: Bentley might have found it difficult to apportion an appropriate *ex gratia* payment. But because of such windfalls he was able, to his credit, to survive such commercial disasters as the publication of *Moby Dick*, which sold a mere 300 copies in the first two years.

These were hazards that no publisher could ever accurately predict. But in reading the debates between publisher and author that so frequently illuminate the Bentley Papers, as to the nature of the market they were attempting to serve, one is naturally curious to know more about the machinery of distribution and sale that a Victorian publisher adopted. There are fascinating glimpses of books published within four days of a favourable report on the manuscript being received; of annual subscription auctions at which London booksellers were first given dinner, then, presumably with weakened resistance, were encouraged to outbid each other in ordering new publications; and towards the end of the

Victorian age the autocratic figure of Mudie dominates the scene, first demanding, later damning, the expensive and unwieldy three-decker novel.

The span of the House of Bentley ranged from the days when Southey confidently declared that 'the Age of Reason had commenced, and we were advancing with quick step in the March of Intellect', to the death of the three-decker and the birth of the net book system. The changes in reading habits during those years were profound. In the Bentley Papers a reflection of these changes is clearly mirrored. But Southey would have been disappointed. Although literacy spread, publishers like the Bentleys never grappled with a mass market. Yet they continued in business for seventy years, published several great books (by chance as often as by design), and also a multitude of volumes that are happily forgotten. The directors of the firm's fortunes were diligent, sober men who followed the market shrewdly, established their imprint, endured the endemic crises from which no publisher is immune, and retired in good order having made less money after more work than would be possible in any other branch of commerce. Mr. Gettmann's book persuades one that their labours were enlightened and not in vain.

RAYNER UNWIN

The Letters of Emily Dickinson. Edited by THOMAS H. JOHNSON. Associate editor THEODORA WARD. Vol. I, pp. xxviii+312; Vol. II, pp. viii+313-652; Vol. III, pp. viii+653-1000. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1958. £10 net.

These three handsome volumes mark the end of an arduous exercise in literary detection and spring-cleaning. Since her death in 1886 a quantity of Emily Dickinson's work has been published. But it has been published piecemeal, and the canon has been conjectural. ED—as it seems convenient to style her—was virtually unpublished during her lifetime; some of her poems exist in several different drafts; she rarely dated these, or her correspondence; and her handwriting is difficult to decipher. Thanks to Mr. Johnson, the record is now as clear and complete as it is ever likely to be. His three-volume edition of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Harvard University Press, 1955) includes 1,775 poems in a reliable text, with variant readings. Through a close study of her handwriting, which altered considerably over the years, he was able to assign a surprisingly plausible chronology to her verse. Now, by the same scrupulous means, Mr. Johnson presents a companion set of ED's *Letters*—1,049 of them, together with 124 prose fragments (aphorisms, brief notes for letters), arranged chronologically with full annotation.

The result is exemplary, but it comes as something less than a revelation. For one thing, important parts of ED's papers have been destroyed or lost. We still lack any proper notion of the intensity and nature of her feeling for the clergyman Charles Wadsworth, though the presumption is that ED fell in love with him and that his departure for San Francisco in 1862 is the main reason for her astonishing output of verse in that year. ('Output' is perhaps not too inappropriate a word in view of the fact that she wrote some 350 poems in a twelvemonth.) Indeed,

reacting against the tendency of some biographers to romanticize ED's life, Mr. Johnson is possibly overcautious in his references to Wadsworth.

Again, a great deal of this correspondence has been previously published. Some deletions have been restored and some misreadings amended. Yet there are no real surprises. The best letters prove to be the ones that are already familiar to us—notably those that she began to send in 1862 to Thomas Wentworth Higginson. These he published in the *Atlantic Monthly* as far back as 1891. They are certainly memorable, but already much-quoted:

I have a Brother and Sister—My Mother does not care for thought—and Father, too busy with his Briefs—to notice what we do—He buys me many Books—but begs me not to read them—because he fears they joggle the Mind. They are religious—except me—and address an Eclipse, every morning—whom they call their 'Father.'

Higginson ventured to correct ED's idiosyncratic punctuation and capitalization: otherwise his version is identical.

Moreover, the *Letters* naturally possess less literary merit than the *Poems*. It is true that they are written at an astonishing level of abstraction. Apart from ED's early correspondence, there is very little gossip and almost no factual information. There are, for example, only incidental references to the Civil War, and practically none to other public events. A fire in her own town of Amherst engages her attention where a presidential election is passed over. Even so, this is an uneven and rather fragmentary collection. Many items are merely three-line notes to acknowledge a gift of flowers or some similar courtesy from friend or neighbour. Though their imagery is sometimes striking, in bulk they are a little coy. We see the least impressive side of ED, her garden-tending daintiness, her intense whimsicality, in a note (for instance) to accompany a bouquet, that reads:

Dawn and Dew my Bearers be—
Ever,
Butterfly.

After a sustained diet of such feyness, the reader begins to long for more robust utterances, even for vulgarity.

Yet Mr. Johnson's edition is of great scholarly interest. He provides a special index for references to ED's poetry: not only to poems that she enclosed with letters, but also to lines and phrases in the letters which reappear in separate poems. By having all her surviving correspondence systematically grouped we can learn much about her poetic mind. We can see how she hoards favourite lines and epithets, trying them out on more than one correspondent—indeed, using her letters as an intermediate form of verse, evolving her extraordinary vocabulary and syntax, her extraordinary personal and private vision. We can see how much she changed. In her twenties she is a delicate girl, leading a sheltered life, but still very far from being a hermit. She sends brilliant burlesques to friends of her brother. By the age of forty she has drawn in upon herself. We see how omnipresent death was, as a feature of her existence as well as in her poetry. We discover what there is to be discovered about her literary tastes—the Bible, Shakespeare, George Eliot, the Brownings, the Brontës. We are reminded

of her loneliness; over and over she asks when A will write again, or whether B will ever visit Amherst. We are startled by the oblique candour with which she confesses her love for the man who may have been Wadsworth, and later for the widower Judge Lord. It is clear that she yearned for masculine protection. This is evident, too, in her correspondence with Higginson, who has been reproached by some critics for failing fully to appreciate her genius. No doubt, but one sympathizes with him in his nervous reluctance to be involved in a devotion so entire and so demanding. And we can speculate on the degree of ED's literary ambition. She was not, it seems, seeking literary celebrity; and yet she did wish for some sort of recognition. Or so one is led to think by comparing the tone of her general correspondence with that of her initial appeals to Higginson, the man of letters who in a magazine article had offered to give advice and assistance to young authors. She is mysterious and evasive. Yet she does write to him; she does pursue the relationship; her letters to him are most carefully wrought. In them she attempts to provoke his curiosity. She describes herself with a conscious artifice, and even perhaps a little disingenuously—for she allows him to think that she has only just begun to write poetry, and that his recommended authors (Keats, Sir Thomas Browne) have been among her models; and she is, one might believe, faintly malicious about her family. It is still all a matter of supposition; but Mr. Johnson's labours give us a basis for such speculation.

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

The Making of *The Return of the Native*. By JOHN PATERSON. Pp. 168. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1960. \$3.50.

This is an interesting and useful book, by no means the mere 'scholarly study' which its title and format might lead one to expect. By a close scrutiny of the manuscript of the novel (now in the library of University College, Dublin) and of the printed texts, Mr. Paterson helps us to see more clearly why *The Return of the Native*, impressive as it is, to many readers seems somehow not quite as great a book as it ought to have been.

It had long been known that the serial versions of some of the novels made concessions to Victorian magazine prudery and sentimentality which were largely withdrawn in the subsequent 'hard-cover' editions. This applies in some degree to *The Return of the Native*; but Mr. Paterson has now shown that other and more remarkable changes were made in revising the manuscript for the serial publication in *Belgravia*, and that these were due only in part to the demands of editorial censorship. From erasures and other alterations in numerous leaves of the manuscript which were never fair-copied he has reconstructed enough of the original conception of the story to give an idea of what it must have been like. This he christens (on a loose analogy with *Hamlet*) the 'Ur-novel'.

The opening chapters as shown to the editor of the *Cornhill*, Leslie Stephen, who rejected them out of editorial prudence rather than lack of admiration, would seem to have adumbrated a rural melodrama of crime and passion, with closer

affinities to *Far from the Madding Crowd* than to the tragic magnitude attempted in the later novels from *The Mayor of Casterbridge* onwards. All the main characters, as first displayed, were of rustic and humble origins, speaking in a dialect not differing much from that of the comic peasantry around them. Clym Yeobright came home not from a Paris diamond-merchant's establishment but from serving as a shop-assistant in Budmouth. Eustacia, then called Avice, was the daughter, not the granddaughter, of Jonathan Drew, who was not yet the ex-naval officer Captain Vye but a familiar denizen of the Heath; and there was no trace of the exotic and exalted Mediterranean lineage with which she was later to be credited. Mr. Paterson perhaps over-argues his case in writing of Avice as 'a primitive child of nature' and 'the black witch of local tradition', but she was, in this first conception, certainly a more sinister and a far less splendidly romantic figure than she finally became.

The somewhat surprising conclusion which emerges is that, contrary to what has often been assumed, the book suffers from under- rather than over-planning. The Byronic remoteness of Eustacia, the half Hamlet, half Oedipus nature of Clym, the mysteriousness of Venn, and the general conception of the plot on lines more like those of classical tragedy than of folk-tale, were not predetermined, but possibilities discovered in the process of composition. Despite assiduous revision of details in the editions of 1878, 1895, and 1912, beneficial to the portrayal of Eustacia but of uneven quality in the cases of Clym and Venn, these possibilities were never quite fully brought to fruition. Yet though this much must be conceded to the 'Henry Jamesian' school of critics, the best parts of the novel in its final form have a rugged poetic power superior to anything of the kind in nineteenth-century fiction, with the exception of *Wuthering Heights*. The interest of Mr. Paterson's study is in showing *The Return of the Native* as a turning point in Hardy's growth as a novelist. It is easy to see why D. H. Lawrence, who might have stared at the tendency of some of his admirers to sniff at Hardy, could describe this book as 'the first tragic and important novel' of its author.

Mr. Paterson's book contains seven interesting photographic reproductions of pages from the manuscript—but, alas, no index.

R. W. KING

The Whole Mystery of Art. Pattern into Poetry in the Work of W. B. Yeats.

By GIORGIO MELCHIORI. Pp. xiv+306. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. 40s. net.

Professor Melchiori nails his colours boldly to the mast; his book is 'a further exercise' in the field of Yeatsian interpretation, explication, and source-hunting. He is, however, not primarily so much interested in source-hunting and explanation of poems as in the mental processes by which poems have come into being. And he begins with an excellent account of how Yeats as a symbolist poet wanted to organize his material. This allows him to include Yeats's 'wrong turning' into dubious magic lore along with his instinctive arrangement of form and style, and

it allows him, also, to illustrate Yeats's innate aesthetic desire for pattern and formal arrangement.

The first chapter deals with the 'Beast' of 'The Second Coming' and the Unicorn. Signor Melchiori traces the development of both symbols in Yeats's work; he is always aware of the instability of symbols even though their underlying ideas may be the same. He adds to our knowledge of Yeats's mental processes here and has noticed several interesting sources.

The second chapter deals with Yeats's infatuation with the Leda myth. Here the relationship between Yeats and Gogarty is explored. More awareness of their friendship might perhaps reinforce the literary relationship to which Signor Melchiori draws attention; the poets were friends and frequently discussed each other's work.

Chapter III deals with the swan image and gives a satisfactory account of its symbolical implications in an unbroken line through Yeats's work, and its final fusion with other symbols. It is more difficult to give a clear picture of Yeats's use of the Helen symbol, and five main meanings are postulated, though more than one of these may be present in any use of the symbol. Here Signor Melchiori again provides interesting new source material and illuminates Yeats's technique, linking Helen with the Tower symbol as well.

The fourth chapter opens with a sensitive piece of theorizing about how the Leda myth probably appealed to Yeats, drawing upon sources not noted before, which are, however, mentioned in Yeats's prose and were read by him before he was thirty, and later transformed and welded into new symbolic meaning.

Chapter V deals with the mundane egg and its complex associations; it is the same as the geometric figure of the sphere in Yeats's work. This chapter brings together a good deal of Yeats's speculation in *A Vision*.

'The Dome of Many-coloured Glass', the sixth chapter, deals brilliantly with Yeats's treatment of Byzantium, and establishes the precedence of visual suggestion over intellectual. Signor Melchiori suggests an elaborate reconstruction of Yeats's mental processes, after a good piece of detective work with various new sources; he has kept a firm hand on the chronology involved as Yeats's view of Byzantium altered during his life.

Chapter VII deals with the Hero, and builds on the work of Mrs. Bjersby and Professor Ure; it stresses the change in Yeats's ideas from Blake's 'Divine Humanity' or Nietzsche's 'Superman' to an interest in man himself as subject. His ideas on beauty changed as he himself changed; the personal nature of his theorizing, its subjectivity, is rightly stressed here. He sought vigour in old age, muscular images which matched 'the fury of intelligence'. This chapter includes some interesting comment on the archetypal nature of the gyres, and again adds to our knowledge of sources for this image.

The main line along which this book runs is the theory that the visual element in Yeats is a basic impulse for the creation of poetry. In general this is maintained with vigour and it allows Signor Melchiori to investigate rewardingly Yeats's progress from image to idea, then from stylized idea to symbolic image, and finally, from symbols into 'stylistic arrangements of experience'. It is a book for the connoisseur, who will regard its occasional repetition, its occasional over-

emphatic excursus, its inevitable complexity of pattern and reference with the pleasure that comes from a familiar memory. It imposes its own aesthetic ordering upon Yeats's vast stock of images and ideas, and it arises out of a sympathetic yet critical assessment of the poetic value of this material to the poet. It does not confine Yeats within the prison of the heterodox tradition; it always remembers to treat him as the incompletely committed committee man of secret societies; it accepts his individuality and his inconsistency. As a result it does a good deal to bring Yeats back into focus as an individual man. Signor Melchiori transmits his poetry to us with its possible evolution imaginatively reconstructed; this is achieved by a mind well stocked with a knowledge of art, refreshingly undogmatic, and critically acute.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES

The Modern Poets. A Critical Introduction. By M. L. ROSENTHAL. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xii+288. 45s. net.

One hardly expects in a textbook for American college-students, which is what Professor Rosenthal has written, any special freshness of approach or distinction of manner, but perhaps one has the right to expect a general survey to cover the ground fairly, which *The Modern Poets* fails to do, and certainly one is disagreeably surprised to find a university teacher—the author doubles a teaching appointment at New York University with the poetry editorship of *The Nation*—who can recognize originality in a poet's work only if its 'newness' is obviously experimental. Mr. Rosenthal prefers 'the stormy inventors of new rhythmic idioms and new imaginative horizons' (p. 254) to the rest, the 'gifted exquisites' who merely develop and refine a poetic inheritance—a too revelatory aside pins this unsuitable label on Andrew Marvell. In fact Mr. Rosenthal sees a poet's attachment to a literary tradition as a sign of weakness, as evidence that he has 'forgone that ultimate expenditure of energy which can harness the poet to new formal and psychological directions' (p. 159). Every poet has to be measured implicitly or explicitly by his degree of 'splendid isolation', and the only tradition really approved is the radical one of 'lighting-out' and starting all over again.

If this vulgar critical prejudice causes Mr. Rosenthal to undervalue some distinguished American poets, it leads him almost inevitably to write foolishly about many modern English poets with whom he is clearly less familiar. What are we seriously to make of a critic who dismisses Robert Graves in a single sentence—a sentence, moreover, that after packaging him incongruously with A. E. Housman, Walter de la Mare, Kipling, and the Sitwells, remarks that 'the main drift has passed these writers by' (p. 132)? From the gulfs of misunderstanding that yawn here the author might be writing about Bantus. Again, what are we to say of a discussion of post-war English poetry conducted exclusively in terms of Betjeman, Larkin, and Tomlinson? Has Mr. Rosenthal never heard of Donald Davie and Thom Gunn? Mr. Betjeman, we are told glibly and without much felicity, has 'an old-auntie excitement about church restoration and other such nobly preservative causes' (p. 221). Philip Larkin figures in this section as the kind of self-pitying, defeatist poet to be expected in a Welfare state that automatically frustrates individuality. (Mr. Rosenthal adopts the silliest

American stereotype of post-war Britain, with degeneracy overtaking us all because we no longer have to worry about paying our doctors' bills.) We are informed that Charles Tomlinson, whose *Seeing is Believing* was first published in the U.S.A. (would the author of this book have heard of him otherwise?), had to turn to 'American post-Imagist models' to find himself. The influence of Marianne Moore on Tomlinson is noted, but nothing is said of the word-painting of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* or of the syntax of the 'late' Henry James. On a slightly earlier period of English poetry the author is nearly as inadequate. He has conventional essays without much cutting-edge on Auden, an American citizen for twenty years, and Dylan Thomas, who died in a New York hospital—these pieces, together with chapters or sections of chapters on Yeats, Pound, Eliot, and Hart Crane, are probably the most acceptable parts of the book, but the treatment of other English poets of the thirties is peculiar. Hugh MacDiarmid receives most attention. Spender, Day Lewis, and MacNeice are briefly and hurriedly dealt with and said to be less 'interesting' than their American contemporaries, Horace Gregory, Kenneth Fearing, and Muriel Rukseyer. Empson is not mentioned at all. Mr. Rosenthal's readiness to talk about English poets is only equalled by his comprehensive ignorance of the English literary scene. He would have done better to limit himself to writing about modern American poetry.

Not that he is to be trusted on his home ground. It would be wrong to suppose that the author's worst errors are due to chauvinism. If he neglects Robert Graves, he also neglects John Crowe Ransom, his own compatriot. He has no time for Allen Tate, John Peale Bishop, or Yvor Winters, but he can spare sections of chapters to discuss Carl Sandburg or Allen Ginsberg and other 'Beat' poets, and he treats with absurd respect W. C. Williams's *Paterson*, a prodigious failure for three-quarters of its length. Quality of mind and quiet skill Mr. Rosenthal seems actively to dislike. It is his 'advanced' notion of what constitutes poetic originality that is again the trouble. So serious are its effects in the apportioning of critical attention and the sort of comment offered that one hesitates to recommend *The Modern Poets* at all to English newcomers to American poetry, who might indeed learn something from Mr. Rosenthal's discussion of Wallace Stevens, E. E. Cummings, and Marianne Moore (even if they had to unlearn some of it later), but would be left with views dubiously slanted, whether in a too favourable or too unfavourable sense, on Eberhart, Lowell, Wilbur, Elizabeth Bishop, Roethke, Nemerov, Shapiro, and many others. Where Mr. Rosenthal is dealing with the fully established American names he is naturally more circumspect, but he seems to have no positive conception of the poetic stature of E. A. Robinson and Robert Frost. Their achievement remains invisible to him. His grudging, tepid discussion of the latter ends, 'He has absorbed one kind of regional experience. . . . But also, he echoes its dreary "wisdom" and over-dependence on a less and less meaningful past. Thought and form in Frost seem therefore weaker, at once more smug and more timid, than they might be' (p. 113). For one reader at least this Philistine gem from a New York teacher and book-reviewer would justify in advance any further strictures Mr. Frost may care to pass on 'megalopolitan culture'.

KENNETH ALLOTT

SHORT NOTICES

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names. By EILERT EKWALL. Pp. lii+546. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 50s. net.

This is indeed a new edition; and the whole body of place-name students will share special feelings of gratitude and gratulation for an outstanding achievement to Professor Ekwall, the doyen of toponymists. For this new edition of his *Dictionary* brings up to date the most valuable single reference-volume on English place-names by giving full consideration to the large amount of new work produced in the twenty-three years that have passed since its first publication. Dr. Ekwall has gone over every article in the book, re-writing not a few, and adding and occasionally subtracting material in the light of the best recent scholarship; and the whole book has been reset.

Many of the more hypothetical etymologies have now been modified, especially in Celtic matters; and full use has been made of the as yet unpublished survey of Cornish place-names being prepared for the English Place-Name Society by Mr. J. E. Gover as well as the manuscript collections on Cornwall left with the Truro Museum by the late Charles Henderson. The 'Select List of Sources' has been enlarged by the addition of recent work, and 26 pages have been added to the *Dictionary* itself.

New material has been found for Suffolk, and on individual names such as Humberstone and Kenyon. But the principal improvements will be found in the treatment of Cornish names, as for instance the addition for Bodmin and the correction of the saint's name commemorated in St. Columb Major and Minor. Though in a work necessarily limited in space a number of minor names had perforce to be omitted, it is characteristic of Dr. Ekwall's meticulous accuracy that remarkably little has been changed despite the large amount of recent scholarship of which he has made thorough use. Since the *Dictionary* was completed, the reviewer has discussed some of the Cornish names and also the problem of Bristol:¹ but no significant work on English place-names so far available has been missed. The alternative etymology of the Warwickshire Solihull which would derive the first element from OE. *sylu* beside *sol* 'miry place', put forward in the Place-Name Society's volume on Warwickshire,² has no doubt been discarded for good reason.

This final edition of a volume which might well have formed a creditable life's work is the latest of a long and distinguished series of onomastic studies by an octogenarian whose unimpaired intellectual vigour continues to be abundantly productive. Nor has he confined himself to place-names, as recently evidenced by his *The Population of Medieval London* which appeared from Lund in 1956.

C. L. WRENN

Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare. Edited by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. Vol. III. Earlier English History Plays: *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *Richard II*. Pp. xvi+512. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 45s. net.

Professor Bullough has found it necessary to alter his original plan, which was to deal with all the History Plays in this volume. *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, and *Richard II* demanded a large volume, and the others are deferred to Volume IV. No one will quarrel with this decision. Mr. Bullough takes a sensibly broad view of his subject, and a fifth of the text

¹ 'Saxons and Celts in South-West Britain', *Cymmrodorion* (1959), 38-75; and 'The Name Bristol', *Names*, v (1959), 65-70.

² *The Place-Names of Warwickshire* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 67-68.

of this volume is devoted to editorial introductions which have a value much greater than any narrower survey of the source material could have had. To make his points he often needs more of the Chronicle texts than an editor might feel it reasonable to give as an appendix to a single play, and the long passages from Hall (about 140 pages in all) serve not only to show how source-studies in the Histories have changed their direction recently, but also to establish points which could not be made without them, for example that 1 *Henry VI* 'shows the emergence of a historical idea' although its 'adaptation of history is capricious'. A comparison of Mr. Bullough's with Professor Ure's selection from Holinshed in the New Arden *Richard II* shows that they are equally apt to their purposes, although the present extract is almost twice as long. The same play affords other evidence of editorial justice. There are eight books from which Mr. Bullough might have chosen passages, and he uses seven of them, Hall, Holinshed, *A Myrroure for Magistrates*, Froissart, the *Chronique de la Traison et mort de Richart Deux*, Daniel, and *Woodstock*. Only Creton is left out. Now Mr. Bullough classifies this material: Hall, Holinshed, and *Woodstock* are 'sources'; the *Myrroure* and Froissart are 'possible sources', Daniel a 'probable source', and the *Chronique* only an 'analogue'. Even so, he is much more inclusive than Mr. Ure, who will have nothing to do even with Hall or *Woodstock*; but the introduction considers and temperately dissents from the cogently expressed views of the Arden editor, and it was clearly appropriate for Mr. Bullough to be less austere, and to represent, for example, those views expressed in the French accounts which happen to be closer to Shakespeare's play than Holinshed. For similar reasons it is right that portions of *Jack Straw* should figure in the material on 2 *Henry VI*. Such a volume as this does more for Shakespeare studies than a dozen volumes of interpretation.

FRANK KERMODE

The Literary Art of Edward Gibbon. By HAROLD L. BOND. Pp. viii + 168
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. 21s. net.

Although the title of this interesting book indicates a wide scope, Dr. Bond confines his examination of Gibbon's art to *The Decline and Fall* 'as one of the significant accomplishments of English humanism'. One may perhaps concede his claim that insufficient attention has been paid to the literary qualities of the great work. Even so it should not be forgotten that the style and language have occupied the acutest critics from Porson onwards. Particularly illuminating was G. M. Young's discernment of the oratorical element in the work. Dr. Bond acknowledges his debt to Young and others, and at the same time has brought much original observation to his study in a series of chapters which review first the conception and structure of the whole work, then the narrative and the characterization, the satire and the irony, and finally the language in a comprehensive and concise manner. This study is, moreover, enlivened by a constant realization of Gibbon's personality and of the social and literary factors which went to building it. No one has done this before so thoroughly and the book is indispensable to students of the style and the man.

But Gibbon's literary art extends beyond his history. Some good judges have preferred the style of the *Memoirs* to that of *The Decline and Fall*. He was also a master, often an artful master, of a range of epistolary manners equal to any occasion from gay trifling to magniloquence. His intensive reading, on which Dr. Bond is excellent, had made him a man dedicated to style at every turn. Even on his most hasty notes, the nearest we get to seeing him *en pantoufles*, he sets the seal of conscious style however varied. Dr. Bond would have put us still more in his debt had he surveyed Gibbon in all his writings.

In a book admirably printed and produced in Great Britain it seems a pity that the Clarendon Press has not edited for British readers the references to works which Dr. Bond quotes naturally enough from their transatlantic editions. It is odd to read that G. B. Hill's edition of Gibbon's *Memoirs* was published in New York. Miss Mona Wilson's selection of Johnson's writings is stated to have been published at Cambridge, Mass., in 1951. Some readers may not realize that this book is a volume of the Reynard Library published in London in 1950.

D. M. Low

The Political Reason of Edmund Burke. By FRANCIS P. CANAVAN, S.J.
Pp. xvi+222. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1960. 40s. net.

This careful and well-written study of Burke as a political thinker sets out to prove that he was deeply rooted in the tradition of Christian humanism, and that he opposed doctrinaire rationalism not by a romantic appeal to preserve the established order, but by maintaining consistently that in all matters of politics and government it is necessary to rely on practical reason and prudence. It challenges the common view that Burke was a utilitarian and an empiricist. While recognizing that 'his preoccupations were preeminently practical' and that in his view 'political problems do not primarily concern truth or falsehood, but relate to good or evil', it seeks to prove that his conception of society rested on a belief in the existence of an intelligible world order, built on a foundation of moral law.

The real difficulty about this kind of study is that the author is concerned with the formulation of abstract principles which he wishes to show as the basis of Burke's political philosophy, though he is obliged to admit that Burke himself lacked the language for such speculations, and felt little need to state the metaphysical presuppositions of his practical political wisdom. He tries to make Burke into a good Aristotelian, to show in what ways he differed from Locke and Hume. He discusses the books in logic and philosophy read at Trinity College, and though Burke's only undergraduate comment suggests that they were no more to his taste than they had been fifty years earlier to Swift's, he discovers in them possible sources for some of Burke's favourite ideas. It is odd that Burke seems to have had to read the logic of Burgersdicius, first published at Leyden in 1626, rather than the *Institutiones logicae* of Archbishop Marsh, which had been printed in 1681 specially for the students of Trinity College, and was reprinted in 1697, a book which, as Professor R. S. Crane has recently shown, was certainly in Swift's mind when he wrote the Fourth Book of *Gulliver's Travels*.

Burke, like Swift, may well have been able to turn to good account remembered scraps of books he had despised—but they both distrusted metaphysics and abstract questionings; they both relied upon practical reason, judgement, and experience of the concrete complexities of human life; they were both inconsistent, passionate, prejudiced, stirred to protest with violence against injustice and tyranny, but careful nevertheless not to endanger the fragile inheritance of civilized society, which they desired to protect and preserve.

HERBERT DAVIS

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

ANGLIA

- Band 78, Heft 4, 1960
 'Inge' [Beowulf l. 2577] (C. Ball), 403-10.
 Die Länge englischer Komposita und die entsprechenden Verhältnisse im Deutschen (H. Marchand), 411-16.
 'Patience in Adversity' [ME. lyric] (C. F. Bühler), 417-21.
 Die literarische Wertung Ovids am Ausgang des 17. und zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts (H. Papajewski), 422-48.

ARCHIV

113. Jahrg., Band 198, Heft 1, 1961
 Zu Hegels Bestimmung des Tragischen (P. Szondi), 22-29.
 The Date of Lydgate's *Mumming at Hertford* (A. Renoir), 32-33.
 Milton's 'Walls of Glass' (Psalm 136) (J. M. Steadman), 34-37.

113. Jahrg., Band 198, Heft 2, 1961
 Die Gegenwart des Barocktheaters (W. Baumgart), 65-76.
 Ambiguity in Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* (E. H. Rovit), 76-88.

BOSTON STUDIES IN ENGLISH

- Vol. v, No. 3, Autumn 1961
 Mundy and Chettle in Grub Street (C. T. Wright), 129-38.
 The Relationship of *Richardus Tertius* to the Main Richard III Plays (R. J. Lordi), 139-53.
 The Importance of the Minor Characters in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (I. H. Buchen), 154-66.
 Hart Crane's *The Broken Tower* (H. Braun), 167-77.
 Ford Madox Ford's Manuscript Revisions (F. Macshane), 178-84.
Ethan Brand and the Unpardonable Sin (A. J. Levy), 185-90.

- Vol. v, No. 4, Winter 1961
 Comic Awareness, Style, and Dramatic Technique in *Much Ado About Nothing* (C. A. Owen, Jr.), 193-207.
The Shoemakers' Holiday: Theme and Image (H. E. Toliver), 208-18.
 Relationships Between Some of Fielding's Major and Minor Works (W. G. Lane), 219-31.
 Coleridge and the Sources of Pantisocracy (L. W. Deen), 232-45.
 The Two Worlds of Edwin Clayhanger (J. G. Hepburn), 246-55.

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

- Vol. xii, No. 4, Fall 1960
Lord Jim: From Sketch to Novel (E. K. Hay), 289-309.
 Leo Spitzer (1887-1960) (R. Wellek), 310-34.
 Arnold and the *Bhagavad Gita*: A Re-interpretation of *Empedocles on Etna* (S. Nagarajan), 335-47.
 Amarilli's Dilemma: The *Pastor Fido* and Some English Authors (N. J. Perella), 348-59.

CRITICAL QUARTERLY

- Vol. iii, No. 2, Summer 1961
 Symposium: Pornography and Obscenity, 90-122.
 Reflections on the Sentimentalist's *Othello* (B. Everett), 127-39.
 The Poetry of Louise Bogan (T. Roethke), 142-50.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL

- N.S. Vol. xxii, No. 3, June 1961
 The Politics of the *Critical Review*, 1756-1817 (D. Roper), 117-22.

ENGLISH

- Vol. xiii, No. 77, Summer 1961
 The Novelist's Responsibility (L. P. Hartley), 172-7.
 Rasselas: The Humanist as Stoic (P. West), 181-5.

ENGLISH STUDIES

- Vol. xlii, No. 3, June 1961
 The Cely Papers and the O.E.D. (A. Hanham), 129-52.
 A Postscript to Chaucer Studies (C. Schaar), 153-6.
 Iconic Organisation in Shakespeare's Sonnet CXLVI (A. Gérard), 157-9.
 Milton's 'Paradise of Fools' (E. L. Marilla), 159-64.

- Vol. xlii, No. 4, August 1961
 Dryden's Purchases at Two Book Auctions, 1680 and 1682 (T. A. Birrell), 193-217.
 Yeats's *Deirdre* (P. Ure), 218-30.
 Folklore and Beowulf's Defense of Heorot (D. H. Reiman), 231-2.
 Usk's 'Knot in the Hett' Again (C. Schaar, J. N. Smith), 232-4.
 Glides, Diphthongs, and Boundaries (K. Malone), 235-7.

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM

Vol. xi, No. 3, July 1961

English in the University: III. Language and Literature. (With Editorial Appendix by F. W. Bateson) (D. S. Brewer), 243-63.

Two Approaches to Dryden. I, Dryden's Couplets: Wit and Conversation. II, Dryden's Absalom (M. D. Emalie, C. Ricks), 264-89.

'Reconciled Extremes': Pope's *Epistle to Bathurst* (T. R. Edwards, Jr.), 290-308. *The Secret Agent* Reconsidered (E. M. W. Tillyard), 309-18.

Robert Graves and the Decline of Modernism (D. J. Enright), 319-37. Critical Forum: 'They flee from me'; *The Merchant of Venice*; *The Text of The Ambassadors*, 359-70.

ÉTUDES ANGLAISES

XIV^e Année, No. 2, avril-juin 1961

Defoe Pamphlétaire, 1716-1720 (J. Béranger), 97-106.

Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser (C. S. Lewis), 107-16.

Thomas Traherne (J. Wahl), 117-23.

Space and the Hero in *The Pilgrim's Progress* (H. A. Talon), 124-30.

MODERN FICTION STUDIES

Vol. vii, No. 2, Summer 1961

T. S. Eliot and the Mystery of Fanny Marlow (G. R. Boardman), 99-105.

D. H. Lawrence's Song of Songs (F. Baldanza), 106-14.

Mrs. Dalloway Discovers her Double (A. Page), 115-24.

Rudyard Kipling and George Orwell (R. Cook), 125-35.

Archimago's Well; An Interpretation of *The Sacred Fount* (J. K. Folsom), 136-44.

Delusion and Redemption in Faulkner's *A Fable* (J. Gold), 145-56.

The Religion of Death in *A Farewell to Arms* (J. F. Light), 169-73.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Vol. lxxvi, No. 4, April 1961

Beowulf l. 2672b: 'lig ȝðum fōr' (R. Willard), 290-3.

General Prologue l. 74: Horse or Horses? (W. H. French), 293-5.

The Date of Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (J. I. Cope), 295-300.

Sejanus and Dismemberment (C. Ricks), 301-8.

Donne and the Ship Metaphor (D. C. Allen), 308-12.

Donne's Adulterous Female Town (W. R. Mueller), 312-14.

Donne and Dante: The Compass Figure Reinterpreted (R. F. Fleisner), 315-20.

The Realms of Being in the Epilogue of *Comus* (J. Arthos), 321-4.

Summer, Winter, Spring, and Autumn in *Tom Jones* (P. B. Murray), 324-6.

The Miscegenation Theme in the Works of Thackeray (P. G. Davies), 326-31.

The Iconographic Sources of Auden's *Musée des Beaux Arts* (M. Bluestone), 331-6.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 5, May 1961

Beowulfian Place Names in East Iceland (S. Einarsson), 385-92.

The Twenty-Nine Pilgrims and the Three Priests (C. A. Owen, Jr.), 302-7.

Milton and the Beasts of the Field (F. Manley), 398-403.

The Publication of *Olor Iscanus* (J. D. Simmonds), 404-8.

Henry Fielding's 'Lost' Law Book (W. B. Coley), 408-13.

A Neglected Theme in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (J. L. Kendall), 414-20.

The Meaning of Browning's Ring-Figure (G. R. Wasserman), 420-6.

Lawrence's Non-Human Analogues (R. Wright), 426-32.

Comic Intent in Poe's Tales: Five Criteria (S. L. Mooney), 432-4.

Hemingway's Other Style (C. R. Anderson), 434-42.

The Titles of 'MSS. AB' [*Ancrene Riwle*] (W. J. Stevens), 443-4.

Notes on the Etymology of 'Serendipity' (L. A. Goodman), 454-7.

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

Vol. xxii, No. 1, March 1961

The Cultural Status of Scottish Gaelic (C. W. Dunn), 3-11.

Narrative Irony in Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* (R. Morton), 12-20.

The Impressionistic View of History in *The Dynasts* (E. Clifford), 21-31.

A Note on Accent and Quantity in *A Booke of Ayres* (W. R. Davis), 32-36.

The Double Time Scheme in Book II of *Troilus and Criseyde* (J. A. Longo), 37-40.

The Father-Child Symbolism in *Prometheus Unbound* (W. H. Marshall), 41-45.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

Vol. lvi, No. 3, July 1961

The Composition and Development of Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses* (T. P. Pearson), 321-32.

Portrait of Lamartine in the English Periodical 1820-70 (C. Lombard), 335-8.

A Projected Restoration Performance of

- Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy?* (C. Leech), 378-81.
 'En le mene temps' and 'en poynt devis'
 [MS. B.M. Royal 13 A xviii] (B. Kenyon),
 381-9.

MODERN PHILOLOGY

Vol. lviii, No. 4, May 1961

- The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale*
 (J. S. Herz), 231-7.
 Robinson Crusoe's Fear and the Search
 for Natural Man (M. E. Novak), 238-45.
 Howard Sturgis, Henry James, and *Bel-*
chamber (E. Borklund), 255-69.

NEOPHILOLOGUS

45te Jaarg., Afl. 3, Juli 1961

- Fremdsprache und Muttersprache (L.
 Forster), 177-95.
 Chaucer's Thirty Pilgrims and 'Activa
 Vita' (J. M. Steadman), 224-30.
 A Riddle in Alcuin's *Disputatio* (P.
 Pascal), 234-5.

NINETEENTH CENTURY FICTION

Vol. xvi, No. 1, June 1961

- 'The Absorbing Tyranny of Every-day
 Life': Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story*
 (J. I. Fradin), 1-16.
Middlemarch: Narrative Unity in the
 Story of Dorothea Brooke (J. Hagan),
 17-31.
What Maisie Knew: The Evolution of a
 'Moral Sense' (J. W. Gargano), 33-46.
Felix Holt as Classic Tragedy (F. C.
 Thomson), 47-58.
 Thematic Patterns in Stephen Crane's
 Early Novels (T. A. Gullason), 59-67.
 The Education of Emma Woodhouse
 (R. E. Hughes), 69-74.
 The Essential [Lord] Jim (A. M. Goss-
 man and G. W. Whiting), 75-80.
 The Devil in Samburan: Jones and
 Ricardo in *Victory* (S. L. Gross), 81-85.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Vol. viii, N.S., No. 5, May 1961

- Butler, Drury, and de la Pole Families,
 164-5.
 A Note on 'Hw' in OE., 165-6.
 Two Wulfstan Expressions, 166-7.
 Note on a Harley Lyric, 167-8.
The Kingis Quair: Two Emendations,
 168-9.
 A Medieval Redactor at Work, 169-71.
 Milton and Giovanni Battista Doni,
 171-2.
 Milton's Haemony and Virgil's Amellus,
 172.
The Winter's Tale: Typographical Pec-
 uliarities in the Folio Text, 172-8.
 A Possible Biblical Allusion in *Lycidas*,
 l. 1, 178.

- Two Milton Notes: 'Clio', and Sonnet
 11, 178-80.
 Milton, Patron of Marriage, 180-1.
Areopagitica and the *Hieroglyphica* of
 Goropius Becanus, 181-2.
 Two Milton Notes, 182-3.
 Henry Vaughan: Imprisonment, Boe-
 thius, and Owen Feltham, 183-4.
 Notes on Vaughan, 184-5.
 Marvell and Seneca, 185-6.
 Locke's Unnoticed Vocabulary (I),
 186-91.

Vol. viii, N.S., No. 6, June 1961

- 'Mala Medicamenta, viz. Yele Syne',
 205-7.
 Locke's Unnoticed Vocabulary (II),
 207-10.
 Additions to Allardyce Nicoll's Hand-
 List of Plays, 1800-1818, 214-17.
 Coleridge's *Watchman*, 217.
 A Probable Indian Source of a Coleridge
 Verse Fragment, 217-18.
 Coleridge and J. G. E. Maass, 218-19.
 A Note on Coleridge's Notebooks,
 219-21.
 The Chronology of *Mansfield Park*,
 221-2.
 'Goodyness', 222.
 Sources of Jane Austen's Ideas about
 Nature in *Mansfield Park*, 222-4.
 Reference to a Popular Tradition in *Don*
Juan and *Mazeppa*, 224-5.
 Words from *Virian Grey*, 225-6.
 Palgrave's Marginalia on Landor's
 Works, 227-8.
 Coventry Patmore's Literary Criticism:
 Attribution of Articles, 229.
 The First Publication of *Thyrsis*, 229.
 Words from *Robert Elsmere*, 229-30.
 Vol. viii, N.S., No. 7, July 1961
 The Rawlinson Lyrics, 245-6.
 'Tidings' in *The House of Fame*, 246.
 Osborn Bokenham, 246-7.
 Locke's Vocabulary (III), 247-50.
 Thomas's *Life of . . . Jo. Hayns*, 250-1.
 Fuller's *Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat*
 and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*, 251.
 Shaftesbury: Antedatings and New
 Words, 251-3.
 Bishop Hall and Pope's Atticus, 253.
 Pope's 'Duchesses and Lady Mary's':
 More Evidence, 253-4.
 Pope's Horace in Johnson's Juvenal,
 254-5.
 Joseph Warton's Critical Essays in his
Virgil, 255-6.
 A Shenstone Draft Letter, 256-8.
The Connoisseur and *The Babbler*: Pre-
 datings and Additions, 262-4.
 The Title of America's First Work of
 Fiction, 264.
 'Finisher': An O.E.D. Antedating, 264.

- Echoes of Fergusson in Burns's *A Mauchline Wedding*, 264-6.
 Edmund Burke and Thomas Wilkinson, 267-70.
 'Seeing as how', 270.
 Etymology of 'Pakistan', 270-1.
 'Flashes': Military Identification Signs, 271-2.
 Source of Ramsay's *Nanny-O* [cciii. 249], 275.

- Vol. viii, N.S., No. 8, August 1961
 Language of the *Ancrene Riwele*, 288-90.
Respublica, 290-2.
 'The seamy side': A Popular Etymology?, 292-3.
 Blundeville, Wyatt, and Shakespeare, 293-4.
 David Wedderburn's Private Library, 294-8.
 John Marston's Vocabulary (XXII), 298-300.
 William Baldwin: The Last Years, 300-1.
 Colin Against Art Again [Spenser and George Mason], 301-2.
 Burns: An Echo of *Tristram Shandy*, 302.
 Africans in Elizabethan England, 302.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

- Vol. xl, No. 1, January 1961
 Blake's Attacks on the Classical Tradition (P. F. Fisher), 1-18.
 The Heraclitean Element in Eliot's *Four Quartets* (M. D. Chubb, Jr.), 19-33.
 Plato and Plotinus in Milton's *Cosmogony* (M. F. Moloney), 34-43.
 The Sources and Methods of Minaheu's *Guide into the Tongues* (J. L. Rosier), 68-76.
 Escape from History: Mark Twain's *Joan of Arc* (R. B. Salomon), 77-90.
 The Evolutionary Foundation of W. D. Howell's *Criticism and Fiction* (D. Pizer), 91-103.
 'High Jinks' at Highgate [Coleridge and F. M. Reynolds] (L. Werkmeister), 104-11.
 The Imaginary Submarines of Dr. Johnson and Richard Owen Cambridge (R. C. Cox), 112-19.
 Dryden and the Issue of Human Progress (E. Miner), 120-9.
 Who Prompted Dryden to Write *Absalom and Achitophel*? (W. Maurer), 130-8.
 Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* and *A Dialogue between Nathan and Absalom* (H. H. Schless), 139-43.
 The Mask of Browning's Countess Gismond (J. V. Hagopian), 153-5.
 Tennyson's *The Poet*: Mis-seeing Shelley Plain (G. O. Marshall, Jr.), 156-7.

- 'To His Mistress' Eyebrow' (H. M. Richmond), 157-8.

Vol. xl, No. 2, April 1961

- The Romantic Movement: A Selective and Critical Bibliography for 1960, 161-261.
An Essay on Man and 'The Way of Ideas': Some Further Remarks (E. Tuveson), 262-9.
 Poor Richard and the English Epigram (R. Newcomb), 270-80.
 Dr. Johnson and Adam Smith (J. H. Middendorf), 281-96.
 Johnson and the 'Proofs' of Revelation (C. F. Chapin), 297-302.
 Wither's *Motto* and Browne's *Religio Medici* (A. Pritchard), 302-7.
 Ghost Words, Obscure Lemmata, and Doubtful Glosses in a Latin-OE. Glossary (J. J. Quinn), 313-18.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Vol. xxii, No. 3, Spring 1961

- Notes on the Kipling Material in the Doubleday Collection (H. C. Rice, Jr.), 105-17.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 2, May 1961

- Annual Bibliography for 1960, 93-361.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 3, June 1961

- The Survival of Pan (W. R. Irwin), 159-67.
 Mistakes in *Twelfth Night* and their Resolution (P. Williams, Jr.), 193-9.
 Dryden's *Religio Laici*: An Anglican Poem (T. H. Fujimura), 205-17.
 Pope and the Rules of Prosody (J. H. Adler), 218-26.
 James Joyce: Unfacts, Fiction, and Facts (W. T. Noon, S.J.), 254-76.
 Contemporary Theater and Aesthetic Distance (O. Büdel), 277-91.
 Dylan Thomas's Collected Poems: Chronology of Composition (R. N. Maud), 292-7.
 Camden, Shakespeare, and Young Henry Percy (G. B. Johnston), 298.
 Owen Gwyn and *The Returne from Parnassus*, Part II (S. Thomas, M. L. Reyburn), 298-300.
 A Word for Rhythm and a Word for Meter (J. W. Hendren; W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley), 300-8.

SEWANEE REVIEW

Vol. lxix, No. 3, Summer 1961

- Wallace Stevens and the Statue (S. Burnshaw), 355-66.

- The Implications of the Noh Drama (M. Ueda), 367-74.
 Auden in the Fifties: Rites of Homage (M. K. Spears), 375-98.

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

- Vol. xii, No. 2, Spring 1961
 'Their Tragic Scene': *The Phoenix and Turtle* (D. Seltzer), 91-101.
Coriolanus—A Tragedy of Youth (F. H. Rouda), 103-6.
 Hamlet's Quintessence of Dust (R. H. Reno), 107-13.
 The Death-Mask (F. J. Pohl), 115-25.
 Cordelia and the Fool (T. B. Stroup), 127-32.
 A Signed American Binding on the First American Edition of Shakespeare (E. Wolf, II), 152-4.
 Shakespeare in Early American Decorative Arts (M. S. Carson), 154-6.
 Shakespeare in Marble in Colonial America (H. Henderson), 156-7.
 The First American Engraving of Shakespeare (J. G. McManaway), 157-8.
 Shakespeare and America's Revolutionary Leaders (E. J. Schlochau), 158-60.
 Shakespeare and Science Fiction (R. E. Morsberger), 161.
 'Sirrah, go hire me twenty cunning cooks' [*R* iv. ii. 2] (G. Sjögren), 161-3.
 Annotated Bibliography for 1960, 167-236.

TEXAS STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

- Vol. iii, No. 1, Spring 1961
 The 'Copies of Verses' about *Gulliver* (G. Sherburn), 3-7.
 Stephen Dedalus: *Eiron and Alaxon* (R. E. Scholes), 8-15.
 Call Me Ishmael: The Hagiography of Isaac McCaslin (S. Sultan), 50-66.
 Stephen Crane's War Stories (E. Solomon), 67-80.
 Toward a Formalist Criticism of Fiction (W. Handy), 81-88.
 Yeats's Octaves (R. Beum), 89-96.
 On the Possibility of Criticizing OE. Poetry (R. P. Creed), 97-106.

UNIVERSITY OF
GLASGOW

- Milton's *On Time* and its Scholastic Background (O. B. Hardison, Jr.), 107-22.
 Spenser's *Orgoglio* and Despair (V. Torczon), 123-8.
 Howells on a Hawthornesque Theme (E. Hedges), 129-43.
 Grammar and Rhetoric in Criticism (R. M. Browne), 144-57.

Vol. iii, No. 2, Summer 1961

- Machine Translation: Agent of the Humanities (W. P. Lehmann), 163-70.
 A Second Country: The Expatriate Image (W. I. Susman), 171-83.
 In the Footsteps of D. H. Lawrence in Switzerland (A. Arnold), 184-8.
 Shakespeare's *Henry V* and the French Nobility (H. Braddy), 189-96.
 The Meaning of *Paradise Regained* (A. E. Dyson), 197-211.
 Adam Smith—Man of Letters (C. E. Dankert), 212-22.
 Poe and the Great Debate (R. Cary), 223-33.
 Love and Lust in Hemingway's Short Stories (W. B. Stein), 234-42.
 Apocalypse and Comedy in *As I Lay Dying* (B. M. Cross), 251-8.
 The Merchant's Lombard Knight (P. A. Olson), 259-63.
 Versification and Imagery in *The Fall of Hyperion* (W. R. Manierre), 264-79.
 The Language of Hands in *Great Expectations* (C. R. Forker), 280-93.

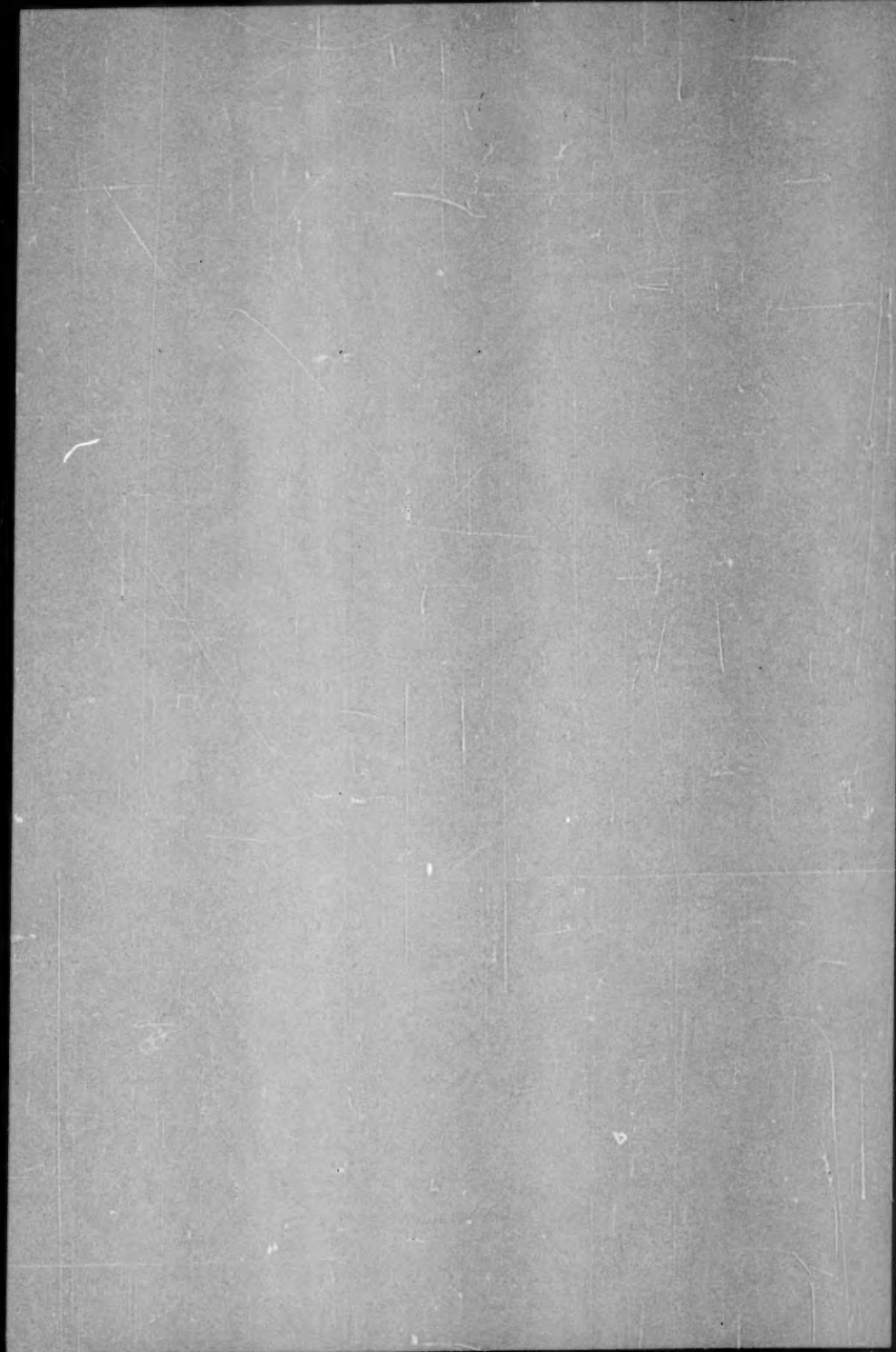
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY

- Vol. xxx, No. 4, July 1961
 The 'Caricature Value' of Parody and Fantasy in *Orlando* (J. Graham), 345-66.

VICTORIAN STUDIES

- Vol. iv, No. 4, June 1961
 Twenty New Poems Attributed to Tennyson, Praed, and Landor (II) (W. D. Paden), 291-314.
 The 1890's: A Lost Decade (I. Fletcher), 345-54.
 Victorian Bibliography for 1960, 367-408.

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